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## CONTENTS

HELMER RINGGREN, Professor Dr. Geo Widengren Sexagenarius	1
A. J. VISSER, A bird's-eye view of ancient Christian eschatology	4
W. W. MALANDRA, The concept of movement in history of religion: a religio-historical study of reindeer in the spiritual life of North Eurasian peoples . . . . .	23
JOSEPH L. BLAU, The red heifer: a Biblical purification rite in Rabbinic literature . . . . .	70
HIDEO KISHIMOTO, Religiology . . . . .	81
JEAN FILLIOZAT, Religions traditionnelles et cultures modernes. Rappports et perspective d'étude . . . . .	87
H. J. W. DRIJVERS, Quq and the Quqites. An unknown sect in Edessa in the second century A.D. . . . .	104
R. BOEKE, Rudolf Otto, Leben und Werk . . . . .	130
A. BLOOM, The sense of sin and guilt and the last age (Mappo) in Chinese and Japanese Buddhism . . . . .	144
W. H. GOEGGINGER, Hermann Güntert als Religionsforscher . . . . .	150
C. J. BLEEKER, In Memoriam Friedrich Heiler . . . . .	161
GEO WIDENGREN, Karl Kerényi Siebzig Jahre . . . . .	163
GEO WIDENGREN, Mircea Eliade Sixty years old . . . . .	165
ÅKE V. STRÖM, Indogermanisches in der Völuspá . . . . .	167
DONALD B. REDFORD, The literary motif of the exposed child (cf. Ex. ii 1-10) . . . . .	209
CHARLES A. FRAZEE, Ibn al-'Arabī and Spanish mysticism of the sixteenth century . . . . .	229
<i>Publications received</i> . . . . .	79, 159

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# PROFESSOR DR. GEO WIDENGREN SEXAGENARIUS

BY

HELMER RINGGREN

On the 24th of April, 1967, the President of the IAHR, Prof. Geo Widengren of Uppsala University, celebrates his 60th birthday. Those of us who know him well, and especially those who have seen him in the saddle, would not believe it, but it is, nevertheless, true. Of course this is not the occasion for a final evaluation of a scholar's career, but it is an opportunity for the editorial board of the *NUMEN* and the executive committee of the IAHR to convey, on behalf of all the readers and members, their congratulations to a great scholar and to express their appreciation for good leadership.

Anyone who has learnt to know Geo Widengren as a scholar will be aware of one great passion that is visible throughout his work, namely his striving towards objectivity. This writer remembers with gratitude the criticism to which he subjected the first draft of parts of a textbook in comparative religion which I had submitted to his judgment. Not one single depreciative adjective that tended to evaluate other religions in terms familiar to those who share the Western-Christian cultural heritage, was left unnoticed, and the adjectives were accordingly changed in the final version of the book in order to be as fair as possible to the believers of other religions. It seems advisable that this article applies a similarly objective approach in order to be fair to its object — he would certainly not appreciate any empty panegyric.

Geo Widengren received decisive impressions from his teacher in the field of comparative religion, Professor (later on Bishop) Tor Andrae. From him he learned a critical attitude toward evolutionism as a method in comparative religion, high respect for the importance of text studies in religious research, and a strictly historical approach to the study of religion. In all his works these principles have been guiding marks which he has never lost out of sight.

A philologically sound study of the texts is a predominant feature of all that Geo Widengren has written. From his doctoral dissertation of 1936, which was a vigorous attempt to interpret both the Israelite and the Babylonian religion as religions in their own rights, to his latest comprehensive work, *Die Religionen Irans*, this trait has always been characteristic: there is not a lot of talking around the texts, but first of all the texts themselves are allowed to speak in the light of a congenial interpretation. No obstacle has been too great, no language has been too difficult in this effort to let the documents of every religion speak for themselves.

The anti-evolutionistic trend is visible in Widengren's second large work, *Hochgottglaube im alten Iran*. Even if this is first and foremost an investigation of ancient Iranian religion, it has also another aim, namely to show that the belief in high gods is present in an environment where even the slightest possibility of influence from Christian or Islamic missions was out of question. It is thus an answer to those evolutionists who maintained that the belief in high gods among non-literate peoples is due to Christian or Islamic influence.

This work is important also from another point of view. It initiated a long series of studies in the field of Iranian religion, a field that has come to absorb more and more of Widengren's interest. In this area he was a student of H. S. Nyberg, who at the time when Widengren was in the beginning of his academic career had just published his epoch-making work on the religions of ancient Iran. Widengren has been able to build on the foundations laid by Nyberg and to develop his ideas further in many directions.

As a corollary to this Iranian involvement may be regarded the keen interest that Widengren has always taken in Gnostic studies. He is an eager defender of the idea of the Iranian origin of Gnosticism, which he has developed in a number of works. When the study conference on Gnosticism was held at Messina in 1966, it was a matter of course that he should deliver the introductory lecture.

It serves no purpose to enumerate the various religious phenomena that have been the object of Widengren's attention and research. Suffice it to mention one more item: the institution of sacral kingship. Five of his books carry the sub-title *King and Saviour*. It seems to have been at his suggestion that this became the topic of the Rome congress in 1955, and he himself delivered one of the general lectures,

choosing the kingship of ancient Iran as his topic. In the very second that he mentioned the Iranian king's control of thunder and lightning, a violent thunderstorm arose and the rolling of thunder shook the windows of the building where the congress was gathered. It also seems to be the historical truth that the interest taken by the so-called Uppsala school of Old Testament studies in sacral kingship and messianism is to a great extent due to Widengren's influence, for the late Prof. Ivan Engnell begins his *Studies in Divine Kingship* by thanking Geo Widengren for having "generously relinquished [to him] his own claims to a subject that is his particular specialty".

This also draws the picture of Widengren as a teacher: generous, never failing to inspire his students to take up new and fruitful ways of research, always prepared to share his insights with those who have the privilege of working with him.

In the work of the IAHR Widengren has taken an active part from its very beginning. His linguistic skill and his administrative ability have been put to the service of this Association. We remain grateful for this, as well as for all that he has given us in terms of scholarly work, as we express our sincere wish for many happy returns of the day.

# A BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF ANCIENT CHRISTIAN ESCHATOLOGY

BY

A. J. VISSER

*Groningen*

It is a striking fact that, apart from the antiquated and unreadable book of Atzberger<sup>1)</sup>, a more comprehensive study on this subject: the eschatological ideas of the early christians, is still lacking. A reader desiring information about the opinions of primitive christianity on the "last things" is thrown upon the ressources of 1) fragmentary digressions in works on more general subjects (e.g. Patristics and History of Christian Doctrines) 2) monographs on the theology of sundry Fathers, and, of course, 3) monographs on separate eschatological loci, such as Millennium, Antichrist etc.<sup>2)</sup>. But a more elaborate and, to a certain extent, exhaustive history of christian eschatology is lacking. Now this small article does not in the least pretend to fill up that gap; it might however show how highly desirable a broader treatment of the subject is. My point of departure will be the postapostolic age; New Testament eschatology would demand a discussion apart, although in the context it is now and then indispensable to say a few words about New Testament notions too. Moreover a general preliminary remark will be necessary. I mean this: christian eschatological thought is, in my opinion, characterized by

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1) L. Atzberger, *Geschichte der christlichen Eschatologie innerhalb der vor-nicänischen Zeit*, Freiburg 1896.

2) On the Millennium the recentest work is: H. Bietenhard, *Das tausendjährige Reich*, Zürich 1955. Conf. J. Daniélou, *La typologie millénariste dans le christianisme primitif*, (Vigilia Christiana 2 (1948)) and H. Leclercq sub voce *Millénarisme* in *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, XI, col. 1181-1195. On the Antichrist: W. Bousset, *Der Antichrist*, Göttingen 1895 and B. Rigaux, *L'Antichrist et l'opposition au Royaume messianique dans l'Ancien et le Nouveau Testament*, Paris 1932. The articles sub voce in Herzog-Hauck, *Reallexicon für Theologie und Kirche*, *Reallexicon für Antike und Christentum* and other encyclopaedias give useful information too. So do commentaries on the Apocalypse, especially those by Bousset and Charles.

two features. One of these is absolutely *sui generis*, viz. the appearance and life of Jesus; the other completely shaped by tradition, viz. Jewish apocalyptic literature, as it developed in the period, roughly taken, from 200 A.D. till some decades after the beginning of our era. A great deal of what was to become typical ancient-church-eschatology can already be discovered in these remarkable writings<sup>3)</sup>. Many of them proclaim the resurrection of the body, an expectation alien to the old Testament (except very few isolated texts<sup>4)</sup> and most certainly alien to the Thorah. It is hard to decide whether resurrection is a conception of purely Iranian origin. On its face value heavy odds are in favour of this theory, but to give satisfactory proof is by no means easy. Even a superficial perusal of the Gospels is enough to convince us that the hope of resurrection was anything but common in first century Judaism, being principally a theologoumenon of the Pharisee party. This idea is utterly un-Greek; more in hellenistic spirit is the conception of a blissfull immortality without resurrection. The latter had adherents amongst the Jews. Influences of that more Platonic vein are to be found in the book of Jubilees and IV Maccabees. This trend in hellenistic Judaism was strongest in Alexandria. The Alexandrine Philo, equally in debt to stoic and to Platonic thought, but still remaining a thoroughly Jewish "son of the Law", Philo who called this life a form of death, who quoted with satisfaction the pun "sooma-sêma" and who saw the body as a πανμίαιρον δεσμωτηρίον was its chief representant. Of course his system has no place for resurrection: man's flesh is too corrupted to be renewed. The pure soul goes to heaven, according to Philo, while eternal destruction awaits the wicked. This fate is also in store for those Jews who have been unfaithful to

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3) On Jewish apocalyptic literature the classical work is still: R. H. Charles, *The Doctrine of a future Life in Israel in Judaism and in Christianity-A critical History*, London 1899. Reprinted as a paperback, New York 1963 with a valuable introduction by G. W. Buchanan. Conf. M. Friedländer, *Geschichte der jüdischen Apokalytik*, 1903; P. Volz, *Die Eschatologie der jüdischen Gemeinden im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter*, Tübingen 1934; M. A. Beek, *Inleiding in de Joodse apocalypsie van oud- en nieuw testament*, Haarlem 1950; H. H. Rowley, *The Relevance of Apocalyptic*, London (1944) 1947<sup>2</sup>; J. Bloch, *On the Apocalyptic in Judaism*, 1944; J. Klausner, *The messianic Ideas in Israel*, New York 1955; S. Mowinckel, *He that Cometh*, Oxford 1957. Rabbinic data are to be found in H. Strack and L. Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch*, München 1926, passim.

4) E. g. Daniel 12: 1.

the Covenant; a pedigree from Abraham is no insurance against eternal fire <sup>5</sup>). The essene group presents a problem in this respect. Relying on Flavius Josephus' description of essene life one might be inclined to think that this sect held rather platonic views on the hereafter; primarily an immortality of the soul, not so much a resurrection of the body. Josephus however was an apologist, trying to make the religion of his fathers acceptable to non-jewish readers. So he may have transposed cruder forms of belief into a key more familiar to his public. The Dead Sea Scrolls give no evidence for one point of view or another; still they seem to support Josephus. At any rate resurrection is nowhere mentioned in the newly discovered documents <sup>6</sup>).

Generally speaking those apocalyptists, who belief in a "great getting-up-morning" are very realistic about it. The Apocalypse of Baruch e.g. states that the dead will rise in the same condition they were in when they died. Merely the righteous will undergo a change for the better. What people rise? Sometimes the righteous only, sometimes all mankind. In II Henoah even the animals take part in the resurrection, but this is only to bear witness against those who mistreated them and is apparently not permanent: a pity for our pets! A new conception of sheool is held by some other apocalyptic writers. At first the notion of sheool in Israel was dreary enough and not unlike the Babylonian conception, so thrillingly expressed in the Gilgamesh epic. The "reformed" sheool of some apocalyptic authors is provided with separate dwellings for the good and the bad. Our canonical New Testament offers an excellent example: the parable of Dives and Lazarus. The Millennium too has its forerunners in Jewish thought, although it is often not a Millennium in the strictest

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5) On Philo: E. Goodenough, *By light light*, New Haven 1935; W. Völker, *Fortschritt und Vollendung bei Ph. v. Al.* [Texte und Untersuchungen 49, I] Berlin 1938; H. A. Wolfson, *Philo*, Cambridge (Mass.) (1947) 1948<sup>2</sup>; E. Bréhier, *Les idées philosophiques et religieuses de Philon d'Alexandrie*, Paris 1908; J. Daniélou, *Ph. d'A.*, Paris 1958; *Opera omnia* ed. L. Cohn, P. Wendland, S. Reiter, Berlin 1896-1930, 6 vol.. The last volume, by H. Leisegang, very useful for references.

6) The literature on Qumran texts is immense, I have to express here my gratitude to my respected colleague A. S. van der Woude, author of *Die messianischen Vorstellungen der Gemeinde von Qumran*, Assen 1957 for supplying me with the information mentioned here.

sense, a Kingdom lasting a thousand years; it may be a longer or shorter period. The description of "gehinnom" in II Enoch is marked by the somewhat sadistic and nightmarish characteristics we all know from christian records of hell, beginning with the Apocalypse of Peter up till modern revivalist preachers. Fire, brimstone and ice are not missing nor are horrible tortures by hideous-looking avenging angels. 7)

On the whole these Jewish materials are the same stuff a christian apocalypticist uses. The idea of an Antichrist seems to me not traceable in Jewish expectation, in spite of Bousset's assertions of the contrary view. 8) The general pattern of christian expectation, as it has its roots in the New Testament 9), is the following: When the "αἰὼν οὗτος" draws near its end, humanity, except the small number of saints, reaches a frenzy of moral depravity, brought to a terrific climax by the arrival of the Antichrist. Then comes the first resurrection, not for all mankind, sometimes not even for all believers but for an elite of those to be saved. The saints take possession of the Kingdom, that lasts for a thousand years and is followed by the last convulsions of the demonic realm. The powers of evil are then finally destroyed and the cosmic drama is crowned by the general resurrection and the appearance of the new heaven and the new earth. Sometimes the Millennium is cancelled.

It is evident that, with [perhaps] the exception of the Antichrist, the only difference with some trends of Jewish apocalyptic thought is the part of Jesus Christ. The Jewish apocalypticist believes that the Messiah has not yet come; the christian of the first generation expects the return of a Redeemer, who has made himself manifest before in humility but whose second coming will be in glory, according to the words of the prophets. This gave an almost incredible intensity to that expectation. In the postapostolic period eschatological hope is still strong enough, but the fact that the church was not in for a spurt towards an exceedingly near goal but for a pilgrimage through the ages, the pilgrims not knowing when they will see the New Jeruzalem

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7) II Enoch X, 2.

8) W. Bousset, *l.c.*, passim.

9) Crucial texts are: 1) the so called synoptic apocalypse (Math. 24:1-51 and parallel places); I Kor. 15; I Thess. 4:13; II Thess. 2:1-17 and the Apocalypse of St. John.

in the distance, is more or less accepted. The first disappointment did not destroy christianity. This is sufficient proof that Schweitzer and Werner <sup>10)</sup> were not right: the "Naheerwartung" cannot have been so all-important. The other extreme, viz. "realized" eschatology is equally wrong and the via media between Werner and Dodd seems the only safe road. Postapostolic ethics too do not show any longer the eschatological strain, which is so characteristic for St. Paul: "buy out time, for the end is near". The rules concerning christian behaviour are tending to get a kind of independence, though remaining essentially religious. There is no need however to speak with some disdain of the "moralism" of the postapostolic age; the sense of redemption will have been stronger than the scarce writings make clear.

Typical for this epoch is Justinus Martyr, the apologist. To him the belief in resurrection is a *conditio sine qua non* for christian faith. People, who don't hold the view that the body will rise are no christians in his opinion, though they may assume some kind of spiritual survival of the soul or the pneuma (this was just what gnosticism did). <sup>11)</sup> But among those who deserve the name of christians he discerns two categories. There is a class of believers that expects, before the final consumation, Christ to reign in an earthly Kingdom, its centre being the rebuilt Jeruzalem on the topographical place of the first <sup>12)</sup>. This doctrine, most explicitly proclaimed by the Revelation of St. John and perhaps by St. Paul <sup>13)</sup>, Justin sees as the unadulterated orthodoxy in these matters. Nevertheless our apologist knows brethren, who for the rest share his opinions, but still do not believe in the Millennium. He does consider this a flaw in their faith but does not go to such lengths as to refuse them the name of christians for this reason. <sup>14)</sup> All Old Testament prophecies about the future glory of

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10) A. Schweitzer, *Geschichte der Leben-Jesu Forschung*, Tübingen 1913; M. Werner, *Die Entstehung des christlichen Dogmas*, Bern-Leipzig, 1941.

11) In Valentinian Gnosticism the soul has to disappear when the elect enter the pleroma; in gnostic thought it is always the nucleus of personality only, whether called soul or pneuma, that is apt to be saved.

12) Justinus, *Dialogus cum Tryphone* 80, 1.

13) Conf. W. Bauer on I. Cor. 15:23-25: ..... wohl die Vorstellung eines Zwischenreiches in dem von der Parusie bis zur Vernichtung des Todes und der dadurch ermöglichten allgemeinen Auferstehung Christus mit den Seinen vereint ist [Art. *Chiliasmus in Realenc. f. Ant. u. Chr.*].

14) Justinus, *l.c.* 80, 2. πολλοὺς δ' αὖ καὶ τῶν τῆς καθαρᾶς καὶ εὐσεβοῦς ὄντων Χριστιανῶν γνωμῆς τοῦτο μὴ γνωρίζειν ἔσημανά σοι.



the chosen people he applies to the intermediary reign of Christ, not to the final consummation. Spiritualizing tendencies concerning those prophetic words he radically rejects. Now it is remarkable that in his apologies this same man does not say a single word on chiliastic hope. The reason for that fact, strange as it is at first sight, may have been a certain caution. As for a blessed life after death for the adherents of a cult: no state authority could possibly have any objection to such a faith; but a kingdom on earth, under a theocratic Messiah-king, remains a precarious thing, politically spoken, even then when the faithful stress the point that no violence is intended to realize it. For the same reason it is very premature to gather from the silence of other authors like Theophilus, Athenagorus and Tatianus on this topic, that they were no millennialists; There are quite a lot of things they must needs have considered important and nevertheless don't mention in any way.

The Platonic influence, that is noticeable in the theology of the apologists, did not lead them to accept Plato's idea of immortality of the soul. On the contrary: they deny expressis verbis a natural and inborn surviving power of the human soul as such. If a man is endowed with life everlasting, as in fact the believer is, such a thing is to be seen as a miracle of God, not as a possibility inherent in nature <sup>15)</sup> Justinus Martyr emphasizes the identity of the actual and the risen body <sup>16)</sup>. Against Plato's view that sinful souls pass through a period of purification, lasting a thousand years, he maintains that punishment in hell will go on for ever.

Some twenty years after Justinus Irenaeus of Lyons wrote his treatise against heresies <sup>17)</sup>. He was undoubtedly the greatest theologian of the young church after the apostolic generation. His enemies are the gnostics who, starting with the inferiority of matter, draw from that conviction the conclusion that a resurrection of the body is an absurd idea. In the fifth book of his "Adversus haereses" Irenaeus evolves his eschatology. He too is a convinced millennialist like Justinus but he is less irenically minded (*nomen non est omen*)

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15) Justinus, *Apol.* 10, 3; 39, 5.

16) Justinus, *l.c.* 80, 5.

17) Irenaeus, *Libri quinque adversus haereses*, ed. W. W. Harvey, Cambridge 1857. On Irenaeus' theology: A. Benoit, *Saint Irénée, Introduction à l'étude de sa théologie*, Paris 1960 [with a very complete bibliography].

towards adversaries of chiliasm; he seems to include this belief in the totality of *articuli stantis et cadentis ecclesiae*. Like the apologists he does not teach a natural and demonstrable immortality. Man can *become* immortal by the operation of God. This potentiality was actualized in Christ and through the medium of the Redeemer mankind may reach that degree of deification that is within the compass of created being. Deification is the real goal of human existence. The perfect beatifying vision and the complete actualizing of potential godlike manhood can only be obtained in heaven after the final judgment. It goes by degrees however. *Natura nihil facit per saltum* and neither does grace, in Irenaeus' opinion. In order to train man in the vision of God, so to say, the millennial reign of peace is inserted between man's condition here and now and supreme eternal bliss. This is not the only reason Irenaeus has for stressing chiliastic conceptions so strongly. There is yet another thing. The Millennium is needed to make clear the triumph of Christ in the realm of history. The first creation is not and never has been the final purpose of God. A change for the better would have taken place even if man had not sinned. Sin has only made necessary the special work of redemption, that would have been superfluous if man of his own free will had chosen the path to godlikeness. Now the victory of Christ would be incomplete if it were only a victory in the "*olaam hazeh*", the world to come, which is also "world without end". This selfsame world must necessarily realize its full possibilities in respect to the divine sphere before it gives way to another aeon<sup>18</sup>). The Saviour has to celebrate the outcome of his glorious struggle in Time before he does so in Eternity.

The more surprising is, in view of the purely theological motivation of milleniarism, Irenaeus' description of the „reign of a thousand years“, depicting it as a kind of *Cocaigne*. The alleged logion of the Lord himself, quoted by Papias, grotesque as it may be, is accepted by our bishop without a trace of criticism<sup>19</sup>). (This conception he shares with some Jewish writers, e.g. the author of the *Apocalyps of Baruch*. Here Papias' *Cocaigne* is outcocaigned. In their messianic era general fertility is increased to such a degree that women have a baby every day: nightmare of a birth-controller.) Irenaeus writes on the Antichrist at

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18) *L.c.* V, 30, 41; V, 32, 1; V, 35.

19) *L.c.* V, 33, 3.

some length and in this context supplies us with a most original explanation of the celebrated mystery number 666, that puzzled readers of St. John's Revelation during nineteen centuries. That "isopsephia", the calculation of the letters' numbervalue, is the only method to solve the riddle he does not doubt. But he is somewhat at a loss when it comes to the real explanation of the name. It might be Evanthas or Lateinos or Teitan. Those three yield the number 666 but the future will show which of them is correct<sup>20</sup>). It strikes the reader that the Antichrist is not identified with the beast from the sea nor with the one from the land<sup>21</sup>). This distinction is certainly not in the spirit of the author of Revelations. Neither is another feature of Irenaeus' eschatology: he no longer identifies the beasts with the Roman empire (as St. John undoubtedly did). On the whole his attitude towards the Imperium is rather moderate and he does not consider the power of the Roman State as fundamentally antichristian: Romans 13, not Revelations 13 contains his political theory.

The eschatological notions of Irenaeus and the rest of his theology form an organic whole. They should not be regarded as an erratic block, an archaic survival, as some scholars tend to do. It cannot be denied that in our bishop's christian experience the intensity of eschatological hope had considerably slackened: a general tendency in the second century. The white-hot expectation of the end could, for obvious reasons, not last more than a few decades. The almost complete disappearance of a real "Naheerwartung" in the catholic church, however, did not pass without a crisis. This crisis was the montanistic movement, not unaptly called by one of its best judges, De Labriolle, "la crise montaniste"<sup>22</sup>). It was the first of a long series of adventistic sects that continues up till now. Montanism constituted a fervently passionate revival of the old and genuine christian persuasion that the Lord will come "ἐν ταχέι", with haste. (Denying that this "ἐν ταχέι" was meant chronologically and interpreting it in an existentialist way is a grotesque error; the average christian A.D. 1966 may not be able to conceive the possibility that tomorrow he

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20) *L.c.* V, 30, 2.

21) *L.c.* V, 30 sqq.

22) P. de Labriolle, *La crise montaniste*, Paris 1913. A very comprehensive list of books on montanism in K. Aland, *Kirchengeschichtliche Entwürfe*, Gütersloh 1960, p. 105-149.

might see the Lord in his glory, coming on the clouds, a christian A.D. 66 certainly could!). The essence of montanism was not the reawakening of the gift of prophecy as it is sometimes erroneously taken, often with allusions to the Phrygian origin of the sect, Phrygia being a region where an ecstatic and enthusiast religious feeling, whether pagan or not, was always apt to drive people to frenzy of excitement. It is true that the montanists themselves called their movement "the new Prophecy" but prophetic gifts were by no means common in montanist communities. Apart from some later groups, in the mainstream of montanism prophecy was, strictly speaking, the privilege of very few: the founder himself and his two female followers Priscilla and Maximilla. One of the oracles handed down to us reads: After me there will not be another prophet but the end.<sup>23)</sup> So the "Naheerwartung" was renewed in the Phrygian sect. It was also dogmatized: whereas the first generation left a certain space for uncertainty about the proximity in time of the second coming, the montanists, like many modern sects, did not reckon with the possibility of any further delay. Now the sect not only expected the coming of Christ at very short notice but the Millennium too, a particularity that is often not taken into account in descriptions of the group. The attitude of the catholic church towards these over-excited men (and women!) was not always the same. Now and then the "nea prophetia" was recognized by official ecclesiastical persons and authorities. At first people wanted to see which way the cat jumped. Later on a violent resistance arose in the ranks of the official church<sup>24)</sup>. In Rome opinions were apparently divided<sup>25)</sup>.

Tertullian was converted to montanism. So imposing was this man's genius that (an unique fact in ancient church history!) even the works written in his heretical period still remain and were much read by catholics, notwithstanding the sour witticisms on the "psychici" of this church that abound in his later treatises. About the opinions of Tertullian concerning eschatology but little remains obscure; he often

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23) Epiphanius, *Panarion* XXL, 2, 4.

24) See note 23.

25) According to Tertullianus it was the patripassian Praxeas who chased the new prophecy from Rome: *Adv. Praxean* I: Ita duo negotia diaboli Praxeas Romae procuravit, prophetiam expulit et haeresim intulit, paracletum fugavit et patrem crucifixit.

mentions these things and his expressions are far from vague<sup>26</sup>). A work of his especially referring to the last things is "De resurrectione carnis" and more or less elaborate descriptions of the "novissima" are dispersed all through his writings<sup>27</sup>). It goes without saying that Tertullian is a chiliast. On the Antichrist his views in the main overlap those of Irenaeus. Very clear and explicit he is in his opinions on the intermediate state of the soul between death and resurrection, a subject somewhat left in the dark by his predecessors. The soul, so he says<sup>28</sup>), is a subtle ethereal kind of body and not incorporeal. Immortal it actually is. Tertullian, strongly biased against philosophy, yet influenced by the Stoa in a very high degree, is the first in the west to profess this "philosophical" (though not so much stoic) doctrine of a natural immortality. After death all souls go to Hades, except those of the martyrs. This realm of dead, Hades, is a kind of waiting-room for the good and the bad alike. The good are rather comfortable there, but not in a state of beatitude properly speaking: for a departed christian soul too, Hades is a "carcer", a gaol. The wicked, on the other hand, are already feeling a commencement of damnation but that is also only partial. The second coming of Christ and the first resurrection<sup>29</sup>) of some saints, not all, begins the eschatological series of events. As a result of this first resurrection the faithful will rise but, again, not all at once. Those who collected less merit in their earthly life than their brethren will rise later from the dead than the believers of great merit. In this way, Tertullian, the lawyer, vindicates the absolute justice of God, at the cost of divine generosity. It is the same psychological need that made later generations develop a theology of purgatory.

A fairly comprehensive treatment of eschatology is presented by the learned presbyter (afterwards schismatic bishop) of Rome, Hippolytus. He was writing in a situation that kindled latent eschatological tensions, viz. a period of persecutions. Moreover somebody had calculated with

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26) An exhaustive study on Tertullian's eschatology: H. Finé, *Die Terminologie der Jenseitsvorstellungen bei Tertullian*, Paris 1953.

27) E.g. *De Carne Christi, Adversus Marcionem* etc.. A striking example in a surprising context: the last caput of "*De Spectaculis*".

28) Tertullian's doctrine on the soul is explained at some length in his treatise *De Anima*. The excellent edition with commentary of this work by J. H. Waszink, Amsterdam 1947, traces many philosophical influences.

29) Conf. Finé, *L.c.*

the help of the book of Daniel that the year 204 would bring this world to an end. This was what made Hippolytus take up the pen. His opinions were laid down in two treatises<sup>30</sup>). The one called "De Antichristo" gives many particulars, some of them apparently drawn from oral tradition rather than from biblical sources. The part played by the Antichrist is far more stressed than in the digressions of his predecessors. A negative parallelism prevails: all things Christ does will also be performed by his demonic counterpart, in a perverse satanic mutilation of course. Nevertheless the miracles of the Antichrist are real miracles. A strange polarity, different from Irenaeus' more homogeneous ideas, is manifest in Hippolytus' attitude towards the Empire. He sees in the apocalyptic "Beast from the sea" a personification of the Roman state, but this does not keep him from holding that this same political power is also "ὁ κατέχων", the force that restrains "the man of sin" for a while<sup>31</sup>). The one empire under a single ruler will degenerate into ten democracies (the ten horns of the beast). The Antichrist will annihilate some of these, subdue the rest and thus be monarch in a kingdom of evil. One of his crimes will be the bringing back of the unfaithful Jews to Palestine; the Antichrist is a Zionist in Hippolytus' opinion. His solution of the enigmatic number 666 is obviously taken from Irenaeus. He sums up the same names: Euanthas, Teitan, Lateinos, but shows a preference for the last. A peculiar thing is that this writer who supplies us with so many details, gives no hint as to his notion of Millennium. The nearer the end the more confused his expositions; so is hard to decide whether he distinguished two resurrections or not. Was he a chiliast? A decisive answer to that question cannot be given. To me it seems plausible that he was indeed, in spite of his silence on this matter; a silence, though, that might be caused by a later expurgation in a non-chiliastic spirit (We know that such things happened: St. Jerome expurgated the commentary on the Apocalypse by the milleniarist Victorinus of Pettau in this way). Two arguments speak for this assumption: 1) Hippolytus' extensive use of

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30) *De antichristo*, (ed. H. Achelis, Griechisch-christlichen Schriftstellern, Berlin 1897) and *In Danielelem* (ed. G. N. Bonwetsch, Gr. chr. Schr., Berlin, 1897). For a bibliography on Hippolytus I may refer to J. Quasten, *Patrology*, II, Utrecht-Antwerpen 1953.

31) Conf. K. J. Neumann, *Hippolytus von Rom in seiner Stellung zu Staat und Welt*, Leipzig 1902, p. 11-61.

the typology of the week. He distinguishes six periods in history, corresponding with the days of creation. This fact points to a sabbath of a thousand years after the six thousand years of labour and trouble. 2) As an author Hippolytus was greatly in debt to Irenaeus and nobody will deny that this bishop of Lyons was a millennialist.

Hippolytus deviates from Irenaeus in fixing a positive date. The end of this world will come in three hundred years time; that means about A.D. 500. The way he proceeds to demonstrate this is curious enough: he derives his date from the proportions of the Holy Ark. Hippolytus' attitude is typical for the great shifting of christian hope. In his days convinced christians too would prefer the Lord to stay in heaven for some time longer; they are overjoyed to hear that the second coming is not to be expected in the near future and that nobody of their generation needs to fear his witnessing the end of this wicked world. Before he turned montanist even the fervent Tertullian mentions the fact that christians are praying "pro mora finis" <sup>32</sup>).

The eschatological notions examined so far were utterly realistic. A reaction against this crassness was inevitable, especially in more intellectual christian circles. Alexandria took a leading role in this reactions. Concerning the founder of the typical alexandrine theological school, Pantaenus, hardly any data are available and the ideas on eschatology held by Clemens Alexandrinus are not so clear that a special paragraph on them would seem indispensable in this very brief survey. So we focus our attention on the greatest of the alexandrine school, Origen. In spiritualizing biblical thought he goes to a great length. He can do so by means of his exegetical method, viz. allegorical interpretation of Scripture <sup>33</sup>). There are structural resemblances between the, likewise extremely allegorizing, gnostics and the catholic anti-gnostic Origen. Like the gnostics [and like Clemens before him] he distinguishes two classes of christians: the people who have nothing but *ψίλη πίστις* and the possessors of "gnosis", meaning deeper insight

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32) E.g. Tertullianus, *Apologeticus*, 32: Est et alia maior necessitas nobis orandi pro imperatoribus et ita pro statu rebusque Romanis, qui vim maximam universo orbis imminentem ipsamque clausulam saeculi acerbitates horrendas comminantes Romani imperii commeatu scimus retardari. Itaque nolumus experiri, et dum precamur differri, Romanae diurnitate favemus. The same idea *Apologeticus* 34, 2.

33) On allegorical methods in general J. Pépin, *Mythe et allégorie*, Paris 1958. Conf. W. den Boer, *De Allegorese in het werk van Clemens Alexandrinus*, Leiden 1940. On Origen's exegesis H. De Lubac, *Lumière et Esprit*, Paris 1950.

into the revealed truths. Gnosis i.e. orthodox gnosis, is not absolutely necessary for salvation but he who shares it, belongs, as a matter of fact, to a higher grade. This distinction did not please the simpler souls, who were not seldom at loggerheads with Origen. On the other hand his assertion that gnosis is not "conditio sine qua non" draws a line between him and the adherents of the heretical gnosis. There is another thing he has in common, up to a point, with the gnostic movement outside or at the borderland of the Catholica. That is: his aversion against matter and the material world. This world is indeed a creation of the good and superior God, that point he defends against gnostic sectarians. Deviating from the common view, however, he declares at the same time that the cosmos came into existence as an emergency measure to save spiritual beings in jeopardy. He believes in resurrection (heretical gnostics did not) and shares, as St. Paul did, on the other hand the notion of these sects that the FLESH will not rise again. A certain "eidos" of the body remains, though the fleshly substance is radically abolished and replaced by a totally different substratum. Even the translation of the word "eidos" is problematic in this connexion. It might mean the "platonic idea", not the "shape"; for, according to fairly reliable evidence,<sup>34</sup>), Origen imagined the risen body as spheric, this form being by general agreement of all classical philosophers the most perfect of all.

The process of fall and salvation, as Origen sees it, evolves along the following lines: The entities, that have become souls, entities co-eternal with God, though eternally created [in the sense of causal nexus] those entities, using their power of free will, have turned away from God. They were "νόεζ" but became ψύχαι. The etymology of ψύχαι is derived from ψυχίζομαι, "to cool", Origen thinks. Because of the cooling down of their warm love of their Creator, God wished to restore them to their primitive, uncooled state. So this world was created as a kind of purgatory. The spiritual entities, who had sinned, were included in bodies, the substance of these varying in grossness, according to the degree of the soul's degeneration. By living in accor-

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34) In the *canones adversus Origenem* written by the emperor Justinianus in 543. [H. Denzinger, *Enchiridion Symbolorum*<sup>31</sup>, Freiburg 1957: 207 [p. 96]. H. Prat [Origène, Paris 1909] maintains that the propositions condemned there are not Origen's but those of his radical followers. The complete *Liber adversus Origenem* by Justinianus: Migne Gr 86<sup>1</sup>.



dance wit the God-Logos, Christ, who became a true man, consisting of the divine Logos, a sinless human soul and a body, the way back to the original state and to the former community with the Divinity is opened. That means the ultimate abolition of matter; a thing that happens by degrees. Even after death a certain materiality remains, but that will finally vanish. The resurrected body itself will increase in subtilty till it has completely disappeared and men are pure “νόες” again. Judgment and the ordeal of fire must be taken in a purely spiritual sense; judgment day does not appear on the calendar. Fuel for the fire are the sins; they are burned away in this manner. A strikingly new feature in the very complex system of the alexandrine teacher, that included metempsychosis, was the “apokatastasis pantoon”. Finally all spiritual beings will be saved, if not in this world then in another, yet to come. Hell is not hell; it is nothing but purgatory.

Repeatedly and with utmost vehemence Origen fights the chiliasts. It seems that he reckoned with the possibility that the process of fall, turning away from God and turning back again, is repeated <sup>35</sup>). This does not mean a reception of the widespread antique conception of cyclical repetition of world-periods. It is connected with the essence of free will ( *προαίρεσις* ) and not with the necessity of mechanical “Wiederkehr des Gleichen”. In his polemics against Celsus he expressly denies such a mechanical repetition <sup>36</sup>). One thing should not be forgotten when the eschatological ideas of Origen are discussed, viz. that many of his theories are merely advanced “γυμνάστικως”, as an exercise in thinking. The regula fidei contained all the fundamental truths of the Catholica and neither Origen nor any other theologian, who wished to be a catholic, was liable to shake this foundation. But about things, not expressis verbis stated in that regula, a considerable amount of freedom of speculation existed <sup>37</sup>).

This rather extremely spiritualizing view met with some resistance, primarily from the simple-minded, the “simplices et idiotae” as Origen called them. There were however, also theologians of broad erudition

35) *De Principiis* III, 5, 3. Conf. H. Mayer, *Die Lehre von der ewigen Wiederkunft aller Dinge*, Tübingen 1922, p. 259-380; F. H. Kettler, *Der ursprüngliche Sinn der Dogmatik des Origenes*, Berlin 1966 passim.

36) *Contra Celsum*, IV, 67.

37) No instance is known to me of a writer of the ancient Church condemned for purely cosmological or metaphysical assertions. Origen's theses had indeed a theological impact too.

who defended the cause of simple tradition with less simple weapons. Origen's comprehensive system was fiercely attacked by Methodius, bishop of the (Asiatic) Olympos [† 311]. The ideas [defended by this prelate in a remarkably pure Attic Greek] were of a somewhat old-fashioned kind. He was a chiliast without accepting the revolting grossness of much popular imagery of the "thousand years". Besides his well known symposion on virginity he wrote a treatise "De Resurrectione" <sup>38</sup>). The grossness he avoids in his interpretation of the Millennium, he does not shun in his ideas on the mode of resurrection. The risen body, so he thinks, will be absolutely identical with the buried mortal remains both in form and substance. The only difference is that its defects are mended, at least those of the elect. His opinions about the state of the soul between death and resurrection are nowhere sufficiently clearly expressed. Chiliasm was losing ground in the East; neither primitive laical theology nor learned digressions of stylistic virtuosos could stop that. The last eastern theologian who held milleniaristic views was Apollinaris of Laodicea, ( $\pm$  310-  $\pm$  390), like Methodius a man of culture and erudition <sup>39</sup>). In his time such views had become so rare that Epiphanius, who, as a professional heretic-hunter, refutes Apollinaris' christological aberrations, simply cannot believe that his scapegoat was a chiliast into the bargain <sup>40</sup>). What finally prevailed in the East was a moderate spiritualistic outlook, not quite in the spirit of Origen but still less à la Methodius, that obviously had no place for a Millennium. (An instructive example for the noiseless but efficient way chiliasm was eliminated is shown by the controversy of the two namesakes, Dionysios of Alexandria and Dionysius of Rome. The origenist bishop of Alexandria took measures against the followers of a certain bishop Nepos of Arsinoe, whose exegesis of the Apocalypse was in tune with the apocalypticist's mind and who expected a Millennium. In doing this Dionysius used inconsiderate expressions about the God-Logos, expressions preluding on Arius. He was rebuked by his Roman namesake, who was shocked by the christological errors he discovered, not by the rejection of the Millen-

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38) Ed. G. N Bonwetsch, Gr. chr. Schr. 27 p. 217-424, Leipzig 1917.

39) Conf. H. Lietzmann, *Apollinaris von Laodicea und seine Schule*, Tübingen 1904.

40) Epiphanius, *Panarion*, 77, 37-38. Conf. Basilius, *Epist.* 265, 2 [Migne 32, 988 AB.]

nium<sup>41</sup>). So we see that concerning the Millennium an enormous change has taken place in eastern christianity. What was fairly common about A.D. 150, not too uncommon about A.D. 300 (the time Methodius wrote) is in the eyes of a belligerent bishop A.D. 370 a monstrosity, so abnormal that even he thinks it hardly suitable to charge a notorious heretic with it. The origenist notion of "apokatastasis pantoon" was abandoned by most theologians. Officially condemned by the whole church it was not, until the times of Justinian. For the condemnation of origenism in the controversy at the beginning of the fifth century can hardly be called an official ecclesiastical verdict. Gregorius of Nyssa openly defends apokatastasis (which he does not always show in his homiletic works).

The same author wrote an important dialogue "In resurrectione". The soul, he demonstrates, is absolutely immaterial and by no means subject to categories of space<sup>42</sup>). Tradition forces him to admit a resurrection of the flesh, a feature that hardly fits his strongly platonic pattern of thought. Platonism is still stronger in the Nyssene's funeral orations<sup>43</sup>). Here he does not shrink from exclaiming that it is a calamity for the souls to be linked to the body.

To sum up the results of a long evolution: early Byzantine orthodoxy takes it for granted that after their resurrection the departed, invested with a new corporality, will dwell in heaven. On their place between death and judgment no binding opinion prevails. The only doctrine common to all is that the fullness of bliss is reserved for the aeon following resurrection and that the condition between can be no more than a state of *relative* blessedness. The possibility of penitence after death is generally accepted but eastern theology holds aloof from rationalizing this notion into an elaborate doctrine of purgatory as pope Gregory the great and afterwards western catholicism did.

Quite different was the development in the West; chiliasm, though not accepted by all, remained a very strong power there up to St Augustine and later; it never completely disappeared. Thus Lactantius

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41) On this controversy H. Lietzmann, *Geschichte der alten Kirche* III, Berlin 1938, p. 18 sqq.

42) *Dialogus de anima et de resurrectione qui inscribitur Macrinia*, Migne ser. Gr. 46, 11-160.

43) In Migne, ser. Gr. 46.

[ $\pm 250$  —  $\pm 320$ ] is frankly chiliastic <sup>44</sup>). From his work we may learn that the expectations of a Nero redivivus were still known in his time. For the rest he himself condemns this strange belief. There are christians, he says, who expect a return of the ghostly emperor out of Hades, but they are talking mere moonshine. The Antichrist will indeed come at the end of this aeon. He will not, however, be identical with the historical Nero and neither will he rise from Hades <sup>45</sup>). Lactantius' chiliasm is the more significant for western trends as he is anything but a simple and modest believer, but a most refined "homme de lettres", the "christian Cicero" (Still more evidence that it means oversimplifying matters to assert, as is often done, that millenarism was a "trésor des humbles" and that the borderline between chiliasts and antichiliasts approximately coincides with that between simple and more sophisticated christians).

Not much of a literary man was Victorinus of Pettau, the author of the first commentary on Revelations. This work holds millenarist conceptions of a pretty crass and extreme kind <sup>46</sup>). The booklet has come to us in two different versions: i.e. the original one, with great stress on the Reign of a thousand years, and an adaptation by St. Jerome, who expurgated the chiliastic fragments but left the rest fairly intact. Then there is the riddle of Commodianus. Much has been written on this subject: by theologians on account of his poets' extravagant notions, by philologists on account of his amazingly awkward handling of what is supposed to be a hexameter <sup>47</sup>). The "commodianic question" is so intricately that a "non liquet" might seem the wisest thing to say. Even the roughest outline of his extremely complicated eschatology would take too much room to sketch, so we confine ourselves to a few remarks. First: Commodianus is a millenarist <sup>48</sup>). Then a strong anti-Jewish bias is felt throughout

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44) Lactantius, *Divinae Institutiones* VII, 14, 9; *Epitomae* 67, 3.

45) *L.c.*

46) *Victorini Episcopi Petavionensis Opera*, ed. J. Hausleiter (Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum XXXIX, Vienna-Leipzig 1916).

47) *Commodiani Carmina*, ed. J. Martin (Corpus Christianorum, series Latina CXXVIII, Turnhout 1960. This edition has an instructive "praefatio". Further bibliography in Krestan's article sub voce [*Reallexicon f. Antike und Christentum* III, 248-252.]

48) The *Instructiones* are very outspoken in this respect, e.g.: XLIII (Martin p. 37). More vague the *Carmen de duobus populis*. This may be due to an alteration of the text, intentional or not.

the whole work <sup>49</sup>). In the third place: dependent on the Johannine Apocalypse as he may be, our author treats this source with remarkable freedom; in fact he must have been acquainted with kindred, but up to a point independent, eschatological tradition. For him it is beyond all doubt that Nero will return <sup>50</sup>). In regard to the Pseudo-Nero his "poetic" oeuvre has striking parallels in the equally enigmatic christian sibillyne literature <sup>51</sup>).

The decline of chiliasm in the West is marked by St. Augustine. As a young man this Father of the Church was a milleniarist himself, according to his own testimony <sup>52</sup>). In his riper days, however, he changed this view for another exegesis of Rev. 19, that has since remained classical in western theology, though by no means undisputed. The time during which "Satan will be bound", as St. John puts it, is the era of the church. So the Millennium began with the coming of Christ and is to last till the time of the Antichrist has come. This last agony of the power of evil, the "days of Antichrist", will soon be over and then the definite end of this world and the dawn of the new, eternal world will appear. Between the world we live in and the final consummation there is no period of transition. We must add that, although St. Augustine saw the Millennium as something realized in the present church, he was extremely tolerant with others who chose a different point of view. To him chiliasm is very much of an adiaphoron; it is no "punctum stantis et cadentis ecclesiae" neither the one way nor the other. Provided that it was not presented in a gross and carnal way he had no objection when others preferred to think of the Millennium as a thing in the future <sup>53</sup>).

In the main St. Jerome moves on the same line. His notorious bad temper makes him sometimes use unfriendly epitheta ornantia for chiliasts but he does not consider them as heretics. Another opinion he rejects with utmost ferocity: "apokatastasis pantoon". The fire of hell and torture, also physical torture, for the wicked will last to all eternity <sup>54</sup>). That was to become common opinion in western

49) E.g. XXXVII: *Qui judaeidiant fanatici*; XXXVIII: *Judaeis*; XXXVIII: *Item Judaeis*, XL; *Iterum ipsis* (Martin p. 31 sqq).

50) *Instructiones* XLI (Martin p. 33). *Carmen* 827; 929 (Martin, p. 103 sqq).

51) *Oracula sibyllina*, ed. J. Geffcken (Gr. chr. Schr.) Leipzig 1902.

52) Augustinus, *De Civitate Dei*, XX, 7, 1.

53) Ibidem.

54) Conf. J. O'Connell, *The Eschatology of St. Jerome*, Mündelein 1948.

catholicism <sup>55</sup>). St Augustine is familiar with the idea of a purging after death but it was the concern of his later followers, especially St. Gregory the Great, to extend these rather succinct notices into a consistent theology of purgatory. Both St. Augustine and St. Jerome hold incredibly realistic views as to the identity of the present and the risen body <sup>56</sup>).

To summarize the preceding notices: ancient christian eschatology compassed an extremely wide field of conceptions. Completely lacking is an actualistic eschatology aiming at salvation only here and now, that has nothing in store for the Beyond, as it is defended by many modern theologians. All christians, orthodox and heretics, of the first centuries agree that the faithful possess eternal life already in this aeon because "knowing God IS eternal life" but this is never developed so unilaterally that expectations for the future of the individual entirely disappear. For the rest, in the spectrum all intermediary colours and shades between the deep ultra-violet of an extremely spiritualizing conception and the infra-red of popular belief are present. The resurrection is sometimes, and the day of judgement often, not taken too literally. About A.D. 400 chiliasm was nonexistent in the East but it was never completely eliminated in the West. A certain notion of purification after death is seldom lacking, but only the West developed this theme in a more rationalistic and sharply defined way. The intensity of eschatological hope slackened very soon both in East and West, the more dynamic approach of western christianity, however, was more favorable to revivals of those expectations than the comparatively static and mystic spirituality of the East.

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55) Conf. Article "Enfer" in *Dict. de Theol. catholique*.

56) E. g. Augustinus *De fide et symbolo*, 10 and *Enchiridion*, 88, Jerome in his commentaries passim and in *Ad Pammachium*. According to this crude conception the resurrected will have teeth though they do not need food; for there is written: there will be gnashing of teeth. The hair will be restored to its former state for there is written: the hairs of your head are all counted. The genitalia will not disappear although they have no function whatever in a world that needs neither procreation nor excretion.

# THE CONCEPT OF MOVEMENT IN HISTORY OF RELIGIONS:

a Religio-Historical Study of Reindeer in the Spiritual Life  
of North Eurasian Peoples

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## *Introduction*

Theoretical interest in religion is by no means a unique phenomenon of our day only. Yet, this theoretical interest has, in the last hundred years, occupied a far more important place in the social and humanistic sciences than ever before. There can be no doubt that the urgency scholars and philosophers have felt to give an objective account of religion and of the activities of religious man, stems from the avowed a- or anti-religious situation of modern Western man himself, however wrongly he may construe his own spiritual life. Our theologians of today who crusade through the countryside proclaiming the death of God and the dawn of a new age, though an extreme case, perhaps show most clearly the curious situation of Western man. For, it is not insignificant that the death of God must be proclaimed, and not stopping at that, demonstrated at great length. Religion and religious man have been and are present in the total history of mankind as a glaring fact. Indeed, something is *there* to be explained. Unfortunately, explanation has all too often taken the form of explaining away. This is true not only for the more blatant theories of the Marxists and positivists, but also for the classical theories of Frazer, Taylor and Freud, and even those of Durkheim and Jung. All these attempts at taking into account the phenomenon of religion tend in varying degrees toward reductionism, that is, the reduction or transformation of religious phenomena to something else, whether it be social organization, psychological structures, human deception, etc.

In the face of all this, the positive scientific studies of the great historians of religion G. van der Leeuw, R. Pettazzoni and M. Eliade

have come as an immeasurable contribution to our understanding of man, that is, man as *homo religiosus*. "It appears that "*homo religiosus*" is to be found nowhere else than where "*homo*" himself is found," said van der Leeuw. And further, . . . "Only he who is not yet human, not yet conscious, is no "*homo religiosus*.""<sup>1)</sup> In myth Pettazzoni saw the *true* history of archaic man which could be seen in no other wise, for "myth is not pure fiction; it is not fable but history, a "true story" and not a "false" one."<sup>2)</sup> The work of M. Eliade, devoted to the structure and meaning of religious symbols, has not only provided a solid scientific basis for the study of primitive and archaic religion, but has also shown the religio-symbolic situation of "*homo religiosus*" to be that of man in general.

But, having shown that man is always also religious man does not put a stop to the problem of man's religious orientation. For the scholar, it should not be a matter of merely cataloguing and "filling in" with factual information the interpretive frameworks already at our disposal. Eliade has underlined the very danger of the breakdown of humanistic studies generally, and more specifically, of the history of religions, into specialistic divisions which seem to lead nowhere save the augmentation of "the number, already terrifying, of *documents* classified in archives, awaiting electronic computers to take them in charge."<sup>3)</sup> And we agree that "creative hermeneutics" must constantly be recognized as a model for our endeavours. As a matter of necessity the scholar is obliged to interpret, as a matter of integrity he is obliged to interpret according to the human testimony of his materials, not the wooden or foreign framework which is not his own nor fits his final image of man. The example of Nietzsche's rejuvenating effect on Continental philosophy should make us aware of our own situation and capabilities, says Eliade. Though, "certainly that is not to say that the historian of religion ought to imitate the style or mannerisms of Nietzsche. It is rather his freedom of expression that should be underlined."<sup>4)</sup>

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1) *De primitieve mensch en de religie*, (Groningen-Batavia, 1937), p. 160 and 165.

2) "The Truth of Myth", *Essays on the History of Religion*, (Leiden, 1954), p. 15.

3) "Crises and Renewal in History of Religions", *History of Religions*, 5, 1, (1965) p. 16.

4) *Ibid.*, p. 10.



Although a more romantically inclined historian of religion like Jan de Vries wished to see in religion the nobility (*adelsmerk*)<sup>5)</sup> of the human spirit, we who cannot accept such grandiose pronouncements about human existence can still marvel at the awesome complexities of man's history, and his evasiveness in the face of embracing schemes that would characterize him in all this ways once and for all. This is beyond doubt the reason that van der Leeuw, at the close of his monumental work on the phenomenology of religion, wrote: "But far more than all other spheres of knowledge, the phenomenology of religion is dynamic, as soon as it ceases to move it ceases to operate. Its infinite need of correction pertains to its innermost being; and so we may say of this volume, dedicated to phenomenology, what the fairy tale tells us for its own consolation and for ours. "and so everything has its end, and this book too. But everything that has an end commences anew elsewhere"."<sup>6)</sup>

Later on in the present contribution we should like to commence the story anew, but for the present we shall be content to indicate where it last ended.

Van der Leeuw, a Dutchman, was not just a phenomenologist of religion, but primarily a Christian theologian. Owing to this fact, he was persistently led to conclusions about the nature of religion which harmonized with his own theological persuasion. As one might expect, the focus of his attention was on man's personality or soul in the state of estrangement, and the timeless theme of man's attempt to regain the primordial condition of wholeness or in more Christian terms, reconciliation with the source of human existence, God. Accordingly, the human condition is always manifested by man's standing vis-à-vis an other, coupled with the longing for the primordial state of unity. Thus could van der Leeuw say that, "the background of all religion is the unity of subject and object, of God and man, the primal identity which is often desired as end-identity. The background of all religion is mysticism and without the presupposition of a primal unity religion is not possible."<sup>7)</sup> We can hardly agree with this *general* statement concerning religion. However, it is not our

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5) *Godsdienstgeschiedenis in vogelvlucht*, (Utrecht, 1961), p. 8.

6) *Religion in Essence and Manifestation*, (New York-Evanston, 1963), chap. 110, 2.

7) *Op. cit.*, *De primitieve mensch en de religie*, p. 171.

intention in citing these crucial passages to dispute van der Leeuw's theories, rather to indicate with what sort of total picture he worked. Throughout his book on 'primitive man and religion' van der Leeuw dealt in the main with questions of a peculiar sort, namely, those having to do with the mentality of primitive man and modern man. Hence, the placing of the religious problem was in the area primarily of psychology, conceived along existentialistic lines. To get to the actual root of man's religious existence, one would do well, he thought, to investigate the problems of human personality structure. It would be futile to suppose that one could talk about man at all, let alone religious man, if one did not assume the category of mind as definitive of human existence. However, man is never and in no place a purely cognitive being; he is also a conative one. A truistic statement, though one that should alert us to the realization that the *stuff* of human existence always takes place in life, that is, where fundamental human activities are at stake.

Both van der Leeuw's Christian bias and his neglect of history have already been sharply criticized by Pettazzoni. While acknowledging the value of van der Leeuw's phenomenological work for its attempt at a comprehensive view of man that could transcend specialist-contingencies, Pettazzoni could not but question the validity of forcing a dualistic split in the science of religion, between phenomenology on the one hand and the history of religion on the other. As he himself put it: "From a general point of view it is the very idea of history which is at stake here. The conception of history which is merely a knowledge of the past, a past totally unconnected with the present, the idea in fact of a history separated from life, is rejected by many historians who draw their inspiration from a philosophical thought other than that which lies at the base of phenomenology. And as regards the history of religions in particular, is it allowable to declare that it has nothing to tell us about the meaning of religious phenomena, and that historical development is fundamentally indifferent and totally negligible to phenomenological interpretation? Religious phenomena do not cease to be realities historically conditioned merely because they are grouped under this or that structure." 8)

Anyone who has dabbled even slightly in the history of religions

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8) "History and Phenomenology," *Essays etc.*, p. 217-18.

as a discipline, must recognize the contribution to "understanding" that has been made by Eliade. Behind this is his insight into the truly important problem of basic human orientations in the world, of man's universal search for a meaningfully structured existence. His depth of vision no less than his almost universal breadth of learning, have made possible a very comprehensive picture of man in his religious mode of being. We cannot in this place discuss the many areas his thought has penetrated into, nor the manifold problems he has dealt with. Rather, we shall fix our attention on what we consider to be the central constellation of ideas which forms the backbone of his approach to religious phenomena and to homo religiosus himself. The limitations of space will not, we hope, force too great a superficiality on our necessarily summary evaluations.

Fundamental in all Eliade's work is the notion of religious man's drive toward a structured or "archetypal" existence. Only when man knows that he lives in a divinely ordered world, a cosmos, is he able to live as fully human. The simple statements of the Shatapatha Brahmana—"We must do what the gods did in the beginning," and the Taittiriya Brahmana—"Thus the gods did; thus men do," are the basic statements of fully human existence. A propos of these two declarations Eliade writes: "Hence the supreme function of the myth is to fix the paradigmatic models for all rites and all significant human activities—eating, sexuality, work, education, and so on. Acting as a fully responsible human being, man imitates the paradigmatic gestures of the gods, repeats their actions, whether in the case of a simple physiological function such as eating or of a social, economic, cultural, military, or other activity." <sup>9)</sup> And, this is not merely valid for man in archaic or traditional society; more than that it touches us even in the West with all our disguised myths and degenerate rituals, and with our acute sense of forlornness, our lack of meaningful orientation to life. This is not a matter of poor romanticism, a harking back to days gone for ever, etc. etc., but a plain description of the fact of being human. Throughout all of Eliade's work the theme of the paradigmatic, archetypal universe of man recurs over and again. Man must always live in a temporally and spatially structured world whose meaning transcends its mere facticity.

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9) *The Sacred and the Profane*, (New York, 1959), p. 98.

It is in such a context of thought that Eliade's study of religious symbolism is to be found. Religious symbols are not just nice poetic devices which man makes use of during leisure moments of creativity; they are expressions of his self-identification with the real: "symbolism effects a permanent solidarity between man and the sacred."<sup>10</sup>) Through the symbolic structuring of existence, man places himself in a situation of totality and wholeness. Of course, the possibilities of such a life were more readily open to archaic man and it is with him that we find a completeness of symbolic structure that with us has fallen into disjointed fragmentation. Yet, somehow these symbols have a dogged, eternal persistence that allows them to crop up ever anew, always externally altered by time and location, sometimes in the least expected places. So, for example, one can find the most archaic symbolisms of a shamanistic ideology appearing suddenly out of the blue in a Platonic dialogue, where through an ecstatic vision the mythical protagonist, Er, gains divine knowledge. "The enormous gap that separates a shaman's ecstasy from Plato's contemplation, all the difference deepened by history and culture, changes nothing in this gaining consciousness of ultimate reality; it is through ecstasy that man fully realizes his situation in the world and his final destiny. We could almost speak of an archetype of "gaining existential consciousness"."<sup>11</sup>) It would be senseless for us to multiply examples, since what we intended to indicate was only the universality and persistence of religious symbolisms which Eliade's work has gone to demonstrate<sup>12</sup>).

We have mentioned archetypes in connection with Eliade's name. It is often wondered what it is that distinguishes these 'archetypes' from those of Jung. Although the ultimate status of archetypes in the thought of Eliade may be, as he himself suggests, a matter appropriate to philosophy, it should be pointed out that he, unlike Jung, never conceived of his studies in terms of psychological reductionism. Nor is depth psychology ever rejected. On the contrary, the discoveries of Jung, especially in respect to alchemical symbolisms,<sup>13</sup>) are seen as collaborating with the finds of the historian of religions. However,

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10) *Patterns in Comparative Religion*, (New York, 1958), p. 447.

11) *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy*, (New York, 1964) p. 394.

12) An abundance of examples is to be found in op. cit., *Patterns* etc.

13) M. Eliade, *The Forge and the Crucible*, (New York, 1964), p. 201.

they are not the last word, for the historian of religions is properly concerned with man's religio-symbolic activities as manifested in life and history. How else can justice be done to the phenomena as such?

Lastly, we must mention the theme of mysticism that occupies a large part of Eliade's work. Man generally, through the repetition of sacred rites, through myth and symbol, seeks to appropriate as much of the sacred as possible. But beyond the general desire of men to participate in the sacred, there are always certain individuals who do not only this, but who can transcend the human condition and conditionings. The idea of the man who can in his own being break through the limits of human existence to gain a divine mode of being of unconditioned freedom and immortality, no doubt led Eliade to his detailed studies of the shaman, the alchemist and the yogin. What we wish to emphasize here is the idea of the man who has attained divine, transcendent powers over and above what is human. Since we shall be dealing shortly with some aspects of the religion among peoples of northern Siberia and Europe, we shall confine our remarks to shamanism. The experience of the spiritual élite distinct from that of the ordinary man Eliade has described as follows:

"In archaic cultures communication between sky and earth is ordinarily used to send offerings to the celestial gods and not for a concrete and personal ascent; the latter remains the prerogative of shamans. Only they know how to make an ascent though the "central opening"; only they transform a cosmo-theological concept into a *concrete mystical experience*. This point is important. It explains the difference between, for example, the religious life of a North Asian people and the religious experience of its shamans; the latter is a *personal and ecstatic experience*. In other words, what for the rest of the community remains a cosmological ideogram, for the shaman (and the heroes, etc.) becomes a mystical itinerary."<sup>14</sup>)

What the shaman can do is to appropriate the whole mythological and symbolic content of the religious heritage in a personal way that must remain inaccessible to the ordinary man. The shaman *lives* the archetypal situation, while others, we might say, only live in it, i.e., within a given cosmic structure.

Consistent with his general approach to religious phenomena Eliade has given an interpretation of shamanism that has dealt with all the crucial symbolisms with a depth of understanding that is beyond reproach. Yet, as he himself says in the Epilogue of his book, the

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14) Op. cit., *Shamanism*, p. 265.

subject is never closed and completed. As in all humanistic studies, there are always new paths to explore and ideas to test. Every scholar will occupy a different standpoint, at least to some degree, on most any subject according to his own presuppositions and orientation. And so it is that we find ourselves.

In indicating all too hastily what we understood to be the main thrust of Eliade's work we had it in mind to stress his general orientation. There, we found ourselves to be moving (if that is logically possible) in an archetypal universe. But, it must be said of that sort of a universe that it is at best difficult to move within it. A great deal depends on one's perspective. From one point of view, it is a fact that all these archetypes and symbols are always present; something which cannot be denied. From another point of view, an historicistic one, it is the differences, the endless variations, and constant movement that catch the eye. The vision of a formal universe is not really wrong, only a bit wooden, a bit unbending to human activity and restlessness. Even though we do not wish to equate the work of Eliade with that of van der Leeuw, it is plain that part of Pettazzoni's critical attitude toward van der Leeuw does not lose its force when directed at Eliade.

If we retrace our steps for a moment, we shall recall that we found it difficult to agree with van der Leeuw's general statements about an essence of religion. This was because we felt a bit confined in a system of thought where the structure of human personality was seen as the real basis for talking about religion. As a Western Christian, it is doubtful that he could have seen it otherwise. After all, have not Christians in the West always viewed the religious situation of man as one of human personality vis-à-vis the divine personality, God? This is not purely a matter of theology but of basic religious orientation; and, perhaps ironically, as van der Leeuw has shown, there are a multiplicity of these. The truth of our observations can be illustrated best by citing a statement of Eliade that must somehow have an unfamiliar ring to the ears of Christians in the West, especially Protestants. Speaking of the religious condition of modern urban Christians, Eliade writes:

"The cosmic liturgy, the mystery of nature's participation in the Christological drama, have become inaccessible to Christians living in a modern city. Their religious experience is no longer open to the cosmos. In the

last analysis, it is a strictly private experience; salvation is a problem that concerns man and his god; at most man recognizes that he is responsible not only to God but also to history. But in these man-God-history relationships there is no place for the cosmos. From this it would appear that, even for a genuine Christian, the world is no longer felt as the work of God." 15)

The problem of hermeneutics is inescapable !

The above passage should make clear, among other things, what we have tried to stress, namely, that for Eliade the actual place where religious man is to be found is generally a total cosmos. At the same time, we must distinguish between the concern for man's place within a religiously structured cosmic totality, and the concern for man's activity qua religio-historical being within such a world. It may be objected that precisely what Eliade has done is not to demonstrate the disjunction of the two concerns, rather to show the dependence of the latter upon the former. However, what we mean to say is that symbols, as far as we know, always have a life, a history; a symbol is never what it is simply by virtue of its quiddity, but also by its very life and history.

As we turn now to a more specialistic study of some religious practices relating to the reindeer among peoples of northern Siberia and Europe, we shall see that much of what Eliade and van der Leeuw have taught us is true, yet in some fundamental way misses a basic mode of religious life, namely, physical movement. Among the reindeer peoples we find a kind of religious orientation which to a large extent is comprehensible only with reference to the economic and material conditions of reindeer pastoralism and hunting. We should be sensitive to the fact that the physical, economic givenness of nomadic existence will be a *sine qua non* for the religious experience of peoples engaged in such a life. As the Russian ethnologist A. F. Anisimov has so clearly expressed it: "Forms of ideology arise and develop as a reflection of man's awareness of the conditions of the material life in his society." 16)

### *Reindeer*

For most of the peoples of far northern Eurasia the reindeer is in terms of economics an animal of prime importance. Not only the

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15) Op. cit., *The Sacred and the Profane*, p. 179.

16) "Cosmological Concepts of the Peoples of the North", *Studies in Siberian Shamanism*, (Toronto, 1963), p. 160.

reindeer breeders who nomadize throughout this vast area with their herds, but also the hunting and fishing folk, depend to a great extent on the presence of reindeer, whether wild or domesticated, for their livelihood. This is not the place to enter into the economic aspects of reindeer. All that we wish to say in a preliminary way is that for man generally and particularly for the peoples we shall be concerned with here, economics, the brute necessities of keeping together life and limb, the material considerations of existence are never viewed simply as such, but are infused with value and meaning which do not always in any obvious manner have bearing on the plain material life. While material life and the historical givenness of man's situation may well provide a basis for any spiritual creations, it would nonetheless seem that man cannot be human in a full sense unless he forms ideologies, unless he raises his activities to a level of value that is not given in their mere facticity. Observations of this nature are fairly obvious, yet should be stated as a check against bad historicism and materialism.

The ethnographic sources for the study of religious ideas having to do with reindeer are vast and often in languages inaccessible to most scholars whose interests in these matters are not altogether specialistic. Also, the range of religious ideas and practices that have as their subject reindeer is wide and heterogeneous. Therefore, we have had to exercise an amount of selectivity in our presentation, and to limit ourselves to those features bearing on our theme, namely, the movement of man within an actual physical universe.

### *On the Origins of Reindeer*

What better place is there to start than at the beginning? According to the Koryak tale, in the days when Big-Raven lived it once began to rain, and rain it did until all his clothes and equipment were soaked. Under these conditions he donned his raven suit and with his son flew to heaven to find out what old Universe was up to. As it turned out Universe had transformed his wife's vulva into a drum and his own member into a drumstick, so that when he beat the drum it rained below. A clever stratagem of Big-Raven restored the members to their proper places, whereupon the weather cleared. The tale continues:

"After the weather had cleared up Big-Raven had no luck in hunting, neither did he kill sea animals nor reindeer. They were starving because



Universe was sleeping. Finally Big-Raven said, "I will go back to Universe, and see what he is doing."

He came to Universe and said to him, "We are having good weather now; but we are famine-stricken, we cannot procure any food."—"It all happens so because I do not look after my children," said Universe. "Go back home. From now on you shall have success in your hunt: I will take care of you now." Big-Raven left. After his return, when his sons went hunting, they caught sea animals and wild reindeer.

Then Big-Raven pulled out from the ground the post to which the dogs are tied, and reindeer came out of the hole in the ground. A whole herd came out. Big-Raven sacrificed many reindeer to Universe, and after that he had good luck on his hunt.<sup>17)</sup>

In mythology of the closely related people, the Chukchee, the origin of reindeer is not pictured as an earth-shaking event in the history of the world. We are told that after Raven had created the world by defecating and micturating from the sky he set about to supply his creation with food and game. As the myth relates:

Oh, Raven, the good fellow, flew off, found some trees, many of them, of various kinds,—birch, pine, poplar, aspen, willow, stone-pine, oak. He took his hatchet and began to chop. He *threw* the chips into the water, and they were carried off by the water to the sea. When he hewed pine and threw the chips into the water they became walrus; when he hewed oak the chips became seals. From the stonepine the chips became polar bears; from the small creeping black-birch, however, the chips became large whales. Then also the chips from all the other trees became fish, crabs, worms, every kind of being in the sea; then, moreover, wildreindeer, foxes, bears and all the game of the land. He created them all, and then he said, "Now you have food! Hm!"<sup>18)</sup>

Reindeer are mentioned in the catalogue of animals created from the chips of wood; no special place is accorded them.

Among the Evenks (Tungus) the origin of reindeer is ascribed to

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17) Waldemar Jochelson, *The Koryak*, Vol. I, (New York-Leiden, 1908), p. 143. The Chukchee say that the brown and grey reindeer come from under the ground, somewhere beyond the limits of the peltry-bearing country at a place where the sky touches the earth. There a large hole is bored through the ground, and through this hole herds of reindeer pass continually, followed by wolves.—cf. Waldemar Bogoras, *The Chukchee*, Vol. II, (New York-Leiden, 1907), p. 305.

18) W. Bogoras, *Chukchee Mythology*, (New York-Leiden, 1913), p. 153. A similar idea is found among the Yugra peoples. The mythology tells that the high god, Numi, during the creation of the world, after having breathed life into man, created the reindeer and other animals out of pine twigs. cf. K. F. Karjalainen, *Die Religion der Jugra-Völker*, II, (Porvoo, 1922), *FF Communications* No. 44, p. 254f, 255 fn. 1.

the primal sacrifice of the bear from whose fur and intestines sprang both wild and domesticated types. We shall reproduce here the myths collected by G. M. Vasilevich<sup>19</sup>) among the Sym and Tychan Evenks. In the first, a girl, Kheladan, meets the bear who instructs her to do the following:

"... spread my fur in a pit, hang my small intestines on a slanting tree ..." Kheladan did all that the bear had ordered. In the morning she woke up and looked outside—there were reindeer wandering about, the little valley was full of reindeer. They ran outside, and halters were hanging from the slanting tree.

A second version depicts the origin of wild reindeer.

Two men killed a bear ... They refreshed themselves ... they hung up the intestines and meat. In the morning they came back to check. They looked—reindeer had appeared. The reindeer were wild.

A third version of the myth tells how it was that the animals came to be tamed, while some remained wild.

*Amaka* (in the folklore he is the creator, often identified with the bear) created reindeer and animals but the Evenks were unable to catch them. *Amaka* urinated so that the reindeer would begin to lick (the urine). When they began to eat (moss with the urine), people were able to catch them. Some of the reindeer ran away and became wild. Then *Amaka* gave them rope nooses and halters and said: "Do not kill your own reindeer. If you kill them there will be trouble—I shall cast you down to the lower world. Let this be the stag and this the doe."

In these few mythological tales coming from the eastern part of Siberia one thing is clear, and this is that there is no great similarity in the myths from one ethnic group to the other. The motives contained in the several myths, though quite fascinating in themselves, are, without for the most part, any overarching common theme, although, of course, creation from the primordial sacrifice or from wood are motives found throughout the world. Another fact worth observing is that the act of creation, in our sense of the word, i.e. ab origine, is not for them a matter of such crucial importance. It is not something that really matters as far as everyday life is concerned. We hope the significance of this evaluation will become clearer after we have dealt with the difficult problem of the masters of the game and the protectors or patrons of reindeer breeding.

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19) "Evenk Concepts about the Universe," op. cit., *Studies in Siberian Shamanism*, pp. 69 and 71.

*The Master of Animals*

It is a well known phenomenon of the religion of archaic hunters and pastoralists that the high-god or gods, while always present, do not usually play an active role in the common ideology of the people.<sup>20)</sup> The condition of the high-god who is the creator and sovereign of the Universe has been described by Eliade as one of "passivity". Having receded into the highest level of the heavens, the god's place is filled below by another less powerful god or mighty spirit. This latter figure, as we shall see, usually lives on earth in the forest or tundra or in one of the lower levels of the heavenly realm. Sometimes this role is filled by an underworldly mother figure or a water spirit. We might note that at one time P. W. Schmidt and the believers in the theory of *Urmonotheismus* tried to prove that many of these secondary spirits of the wild were really or originally forms of the "Highest-Being" himself.<sup>21)</sup> Such theories have generally been rejected by more competent scholars and thinkers.<sup>22)</sup>

The universal existence among all the peoples of northern Eurasia of the master of animals, the dispenser of hunting, fishing and reindeer luck, the patron of reindeer breeding, makes it impossible for us here to attempt any systematic interpretation of the problem. We shall have to rest content with the rather vague designation that this personage, whether confined to a small locality or covering a whole tribal territory or geographical area, e.g., tundra, taiga, forest, is actively involved in the supervision of all animals under his jurisdiction, dispensing and withholding as he sees fit or insofar as he can be persuaded through the entreaties or cunning of men.

The complexity of ideas concerning the concept of masters is readily seen in the case of the Yukaghir.<sup>23)</sup> According to their views there are three principle 'owers' or masters; they are the owners of the Earth, fresh Water and the Ocean. Subordinate to each of these

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20) Cf. op. cit., Eliade, *Patterns* etc., pp. 58ff.

21) Especially A. Gahs, "Kopf-, Schädel- und Langknochenopfer bei Rentier-völkern," in: *Publication d'hommage offert au P. G. Schmidt*, (Vienne, 1928), pp. 139-243.

22) E.g. Ivar Paulson, *Schutzgeister u. Gottheiten des Wildes (der Jagdtiere u. Fische) in Nordasien*, (Uppsala, 1961), pp. 81 and 97. Ad. E. Jensen, *Myth and Cult among Primitive Peoples*, (Chicago, 1963), pp. 135-146.

23) W. Jochelson, *The Yukaghir and the Yukaghirized Tungus*, (Leiden-New York, 1926), pp. 145ff.

are special owners of animals, called 'keepers'—*mo'ye* or *moru'*. "Thus, for instance, the keeper of reindeer, *tolo'n-mo'ye*, ... (is) subject to the Owner of the Earth ... The domesticated reindeer also has its keeper. When on the tundra some Yukaghir beats a driving-reindeer, the older men intercede saying that the keeper of the domesticated reindeer will be angry." <sup>24</sup> The hierarchy of masters is further complicated by the addition of still another class beyond that of the keepers of animal species, the guardians of each individual animal known as *pe'jul'* which can also mean luck. Among the Yukaghir, as a primarily hunting people, the role of the *pe'jul'* is as important as it is interesting. The *pe'jul'* is the protector and guardian of the animal, and without his consent the animal cannot be killed. All depends on the goodwill of the guardian towards the hunter; hence, the success or failure of the hunt depends on luck, *pe'jul'*. Naturally, the animal too has some say in the matter, and his goodwill is also necessary. The Yukaghir say, "if the reindeer does not like the hunter, he will not be able to kill it." <sup>25</sup> Another important feature of the master in the opinion of the Yukaghir, is that he will not countenance unbridled slaughter of animals beyond necessity. It is recounted that the Yukaghir on the Omolon river used to slaughter reindeer by the hundreds at the river crossings (*plavi*), however not in excess. All the *plavi* have disappeared because of the following transgression. Once "there was a good-for-nothing evil-minded man who caught a live reindeer, skinned it and let it run again. The keeper of the wild reindeer, *to'lon-mo'ye*, was insulted by the cruelty and ridicule inflicted and led his reindeer away from the Omolon to other rivers." <sup>26</sup>)

These accounts of the Yukaghir portray nicely the active role the master does play in respect to his animals and to man. Constantly on the look-out, he neither withholds his herds greedily nor abandons them to the caprice of men. In cases of cruelty or needless slaughter he is quick to move his herds elsewhere away from danger, while at the same time punishing the guilty with ill-luck in the hunt. Of a similar nature is the master of wild reindeer and all land animals

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24) Ibid., p. 145.

25) Ibid., p. 146

26) Ibid., p. 149.

among the Chukchee, known as Pičvu'čin. It is said that he "lives in deep ravines, and stays near the forest border. From there he sends reindeer to the hunters; but when he is angered he withholds the supply. He is especially strict in demanding the performance of all ancient customs and sacrifices connected with the hunt, and resents every slight neglect of them." 27) His powers, which are certainly great, are in peculiar contrast to his size which is quite the opposite. "He is represented as very small, not larger than a man's finger, and his footprints in the snow are like those of a mouse." 28) No less surprising are his modes of transportation; his sled is of grass, pulled by a mouse or a root, and he is also known to ride the largest bucks of the wild reindeer herds as can be seen when the fur on the backs of their necks is roughed up. 29)

Not all masters are the size of mice. The following tale of the Lamut man who was turned to stone describes the master of reindeer breeding as reaching to the sky. As we shall see, the moralistic aspects of the master are not always confined to the treatment of reindeer. The story concerns an all-tempered reindeer owner who was in the habit of thrashing his assistants for mere trifles.

One time his herd went away from their usual pasture. One of the assistants set off to look for it. He came to the pasture, which was covered with the tracks of reindeer hoofs, but farther off there was not a single track. He walked and walked and grew tired. So he came home, and said, "I could not find the herd." The master gave him a severe thrashing, and then said, "How is it that you could not find it? Where can it be? I will go look for it myself." He came to the pasture, and walked all around it, but he could not find any tracks outside of it. He grew quite tired. There was on the border of the pasture a boulder. He climbed it and sat down to rest ... All at once he heard a voice, "Biya!" (You man!) He sprang to his feet and looked up. High on the rock there stood an old man, large and white, high as the sky. "O man, you see me?"—"I see you."—"You hear my voice?"—"I hear your voice."—"What are you doing?"—"I am resting myself."—"And where are your reindeer?"—"I do not know."—"Ah well! but why do you strike your assistants for so little reason? Now you must look for reindeer yourself ... Look upward! There are your reindeer." He looked up, and his reindeer were mounting up to the sky, all of them,—bucks and does and fawns. He looked but did not stir. "So you will stand here for ever." The white one vanished.

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27) Op. cit., Bogoras, *The Chukchee*, p. 286.

28) Idem.

29) Ibid., p. 287 fn. 1.

The man, unable to free himself, slowly sinks into the boulder until by the next spring he is turned completely to stone.<sup>30)</sup>

The master of animals can be approached either through sacrifice or more directly through the direct visit of the shaman. The journey of the shaman to the abode of the master is an essential preliminary at the beginning of the hunt, for it is only in virtue of the benevolence of the master that the game can be brought down at all. Much, too, depends upon the personal relationship that exists between master and shaman; if an enmity should develop between the two the hunters are deprived of their substance. Among the Yukaghir, the shaman, after inquiring of the bones or skulls of dead shamans how he should best conduct his journey, sets out with his helping spirits for the abode of the Owner of the Earth. On reaching the Owner's house the shaman, with the utmost politeness and tact, calls through the half-open door, "Earth-Owner, your children have sent me to you for some food for the future." If the Owner of the Earth happens to love the shaman he will then give him the soul of a reindeer doe to take back to earth, otherwise the shaman will be given only the shadow of a reindeer bull. Having returned to the yurt (i.e., the shaman comes out of his ecstatic condition when his soul has returned to his body) he hands over to the chief hunter the soul of the particular reindeer he has been given by the Owner of the Earth. He ties it to the head-band of the hunter giving him instructions where to go to find the actual animal to whom the soul belongs. On the next morning when the hunter arrives at the designated place the reindeer will come down to meet him, allowing itself to be shot and killed. If it was a doe that the shaman was given then the hunter will shoot a doe; this means that the hunt will go well for the whole season. In the case that it was a bull the hunter will shoot just the bull, and that will be the extent of his luck.<sup>31)</sup>

Among some peoples the mistress of animals is met with rather than the master. Since it is not possible for us to go into all the intricacies of the conceptions and representations of this general class of spirits, we shall merely reproduce the wonderful description of a

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30) W. Bogoras, "Tales of Yukaghir, Lamut, and Russianized Natives of Eastern Siberia," *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History*, Vol. XX, pt. I, (1918), pp. 34-35.

31) Op. cit., Jochelson, *The Yukaghir* etc., pp. 210-12.

shaman's journey to the clan mistress of the Podkamennaya Tunguska Evenks given by Anisimov. The purpose of the trip is, naturally, the acquisition of game. In accordance with the clan structure of Evenk society the mistress governs the clan land and her abode is usually thought to be located under the sacred cosmic tree of the clan where her husband and other herdsmen tend vast numbers of animals of all kinds.<sup>32)</sup> Commencing the séance the shaman declares the purpose of his mission, rallies his spirits, and "departs for the world where *dunne mushun*, the mistress of the clan land, lives, by penetrating under the roots of the sacred clan-tree." Having overcome all the many obstacles in his path the shaman and his spirits finally arrive at the house of the mistress, at which time a long dialogue begins between her and the shaman. "The shaman begs the mistress of the earth to give the kinsmen animals for the hunt, and she replies, pointing out to the shaman that various types of prohibitions were trespassed by the people . . . The shaman, with the active support (exclamations) of the audience, tries to dissuade the obstinate mistress of the land, and she finally agrees to release into the taiga a certain number of animals." Matters are further complicated by the fact that the mistress is not at liberty to release the animals without the prior consent of the mother of the universe, *bugady enintyn-eninintyn*. She most often assumes the form of an elk cow or wild reindeer doe.<sup>33)</sup> The shaman is given instructions as to how he may come to her, and he sets off on the second leg of his quest. Once more he must plead his case until the great mother agrees to entreaties by promising a certain number of animals. The shaman "sets about to catch them with his drum, using it as a lasso. The animals captured by the shaman instantly turn into woolen threads, *shnigken*, which the shaman hides in the drum. With these *shingken*, the source of the future catch of the hunters, the shaman starts his return journey . . . When he reaches the dwelling of the *dunne mushun* the shaman shows her the catch, and the clan guardian of the entrance into the other world permits him to return to the taiga, to the people." Arriving in the taiga he empties the contents of the drum; the woolen threads

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32) Op. cit., "Cosmological Concepts etc.", p. 176.

33) Among the Dolgans, according to Popov, the reindeer master is represented as a large reindeer to whom the shamans must go to insure the hunting luck. Cf. op. cit., Paulson, p. 94.

immediately turn back into animals who fill the countryside. "However, the action of the shaman does not end with this. The kinsmen express fears that this catch will be inadequate for the clan, and beg the shaman to go again to the clan's female spirits. The shaman carries out the request of his kinsmen and once more appears in the dwelling of the *dunne mushunin*. Here begins for him the most difficult and complicated moment of shamanism, the theft from the *dunne mushunin* of the quantity of woolen threads necessary. The shaman offers a service, to look for lice in her soft leather under-shirt. The old woman, mistress of the land, agrees. While taking off the garment, she reveals the sacred little bag, in her armpit, in which the woolen threads of all the animals in the taiga are kept, and the shaman without being noticed, takes the necessary number. When he returns to the middle world, to the people, the shaman shakes them into the taiga and instantly they are transformed into real animals." <sup>34</sup>)

When we come to discuss the problem of reindeer sacrifice, we shall return to the master of animals in respect to the sorts of offerings made. At present we must take a brief look at the ideas about the guardians of the herds of the reindeer breeders. Peculiar to these spirits is their limited domain over single herds. They are not so much concerned with the source of reindeer, which is the business of the great masters, as with the protection and well-being of the herd.

Among the Chukchee and the Koryak there is a close solidarity between the family hearth and the herd, as represented by the sacred fire-board that is at once the guardian of the hearth and the guardian of the herd. Though they are both fairly nomadic peoples (exclusive of the maritime branches) both groups view the sacred hearth as the center of the world, for it is through the hearth that one passes into the world below or the evil spirits (*ke'let* or *kalau*) enter our world from below. The sacred orientation of the herd is thus around the hearth. The farther the herd is from the hearth and the sacred fire-board the greater is its danger from the demonic powers of the universe. This is well shown by one of festivals (see below) where the return of the reindeer from summer pasture to the hearth is celebrated with thanksgiving. The role of the fire-board as guardian of the herd is

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34) Ibid., pp. 177-78.



illustrated by an account that Jochelson gives.<sup>35)</sup> When two brothers inherited their father's herd, it was divided between them, the younger brother receiving the sacred fire-board; the older brother went off to the woods and made another one. When it was dry a few days later the consecration took place. "A reindeer was slaughtered as a sacrifice to the Master-On-High, and the figure was anointed with sacrificial blood and fat. Thereupon, the mother of the two brothers pronounced an incantation over it, consisting of an appeal to Big-Raven to set up a new sacred fire-board as a guardian of the herd. Then fire was for the first time obtained from the sacred fire-board by means of drilling; the wooden god, or rather guardian, black from hearth smoke, and shining from the fat that had been smeared on it, became guardian of the herd and of the hearth. "Now my reindeer will have their own herdsman," said Qacai . . ."

The presence of some kind of superhuman protector of the herd is found everywhere among the reindeer breeders. These are usually wooden or stone figures and the like which are carried around with the herd transported on the backs of special "dedicated" reindeer or on sacred sledges.<sup>36)</sup> In keeping with the theme we have set for ourselves concerning the idea of 'movement' we shall focus our attention solely on the vehicles of these idols. Shirokogoroff<sup>37)</sup> informs us that among the Tungus the dedicated or consecrated animals are domesticated draft reindeer and horses.<sup>38)</sup> They function in carrying placings (idols) and as mounts for the spirits said to ride them. The reindeer Tungus of Transbaikalia distinguish two types of consecrated reindeer, *ongun* and *jasil*. There is no special veneration accorded the former; it is marked off by a ribbon tied through a perforation in the ear and serves to carry the spirits (*ongun*), shaman's costume, and other sacred objects. The *jasil*, or *itik* as it is known among other Tungus groups, is a special white reindeer which cannot be slaughtered or ridden. It is treated with the utmost respect and its life made as pleasant as possible. If it is beaten or saddled

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35) Op. cit., *The Koryak*, p. 32.

36) See D. Zélénine, *Le culte des idoles en Sibérie*, (Paris, 1952).

37) S. M. Shirokogoroff, *Psychomental Complex of the Tungus*, (London, 1935), pp. 197-98.

38) In more southern parts of Siberia the reindeer and horse are often ritually interchangeable, as sometimes are cattle.

the guilty party will fall ill.<sup>39)</sup> Its main function seems to be to ride in front of the caravan when people are on the move, hallowing the way as they go.

Similar practices are reported by Karjalainen of the Yugra peoples. "In den nördlichen Ostjakengegend, wo die Bewohner je nach der Jahreszeit von dem einen Wohnsitz zum anderen übersiedeln, werden die Geister einem zu diesem Zwecke hergestellten Renntierschlitten mitgeführt. Nach einer russischen Quelle dienen als Zugtiere gleichfarbige, gewöhnlich weisse, Rentiere, die sonst nicht zum Fahren benutzt und, sobald sie untauglich geworden sind, dem von ihnen gezogenen Geiste geopfert werden."<sup>40)</sup> The Entsy used to carry representations of "masters" or guardian spirits on their sacred sleds, also.<sup>41)</sup> Ye. D. Prokofyeva has shown that the sacred sleds of the Entsy and Nenty are in fact themselves constructed in such a way as to be reindeer. "On the sled was a chest or box (for sacred objects) with a cover. They covered such sleds with the skin of a reindeer together with the hoofs and skull. On the front cross-beam they hung various iron pendants, pieces of cloth and other offerings. The upper longitudinal cross-beam had notches depicting the "spinal bones" of the spirit. The front part of it was considered the "head" of the spirit and was smeared with fat and blood (i.e., as one would "feed" an idol). The supporting staves had in the middle protruderances, representing the "knee" of the spirit's leg. The staves appear to be "legs" and are called *tsae khantse* (celestial, divine?)."<sup>42)</sup> Thus even the sled is a living being actively involved in the welfare and protection of man and herd.<sup>43)</sup>

The sacred quality inherent in white reindeer is recognized throughout the area where they are hunted and bred. They are most often if not exclusively, considered to be bearers of powers benevolent toward man and animal. Thus they are dedicated to any number of protective spirits or gods, in many cases to the high-god himself. For

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39) Op. cit., Zélénine, p. 207.

40) Op. cit., *Religion der Jugra-Völker*, II, p. 19.

41) "Materialy po religiozным predstavleniyam entsev," *Sbornik Muzeya Antropologii i Etnografii*, Vol XIV, (1953), p. 202.

42) Ibid. pp. 226-27.

43) Cf. Zélénine, chap. 5, "Les ongons d'élevage et les izykh," for more information.

example, among the Tungus we are told that no bloody sacrifices are offered to the highest-being *Mayin*, "sondern nur unblutige, d.h. es werden ihm Tiere geweiht, und zwar Rentiere von weisser Farbe. Diese werden dann vom Hauswirt entweder überhaupt nicht mehr für einige Zwecke benützt oder doch nur in Ausnahmefällen ... Solche Rentiere leben 15 bis 20 Jahre lang (Shirokogoroff claimed 40!) während arbeits Tiere nur 10-12 Jahre erreichen. Das Rentier steht überhaupt in enger Beziehung zum Höchsten Wesen. Wenn der Mensch das Rentier gut behandelt, so wird seine Seele, die nach dem Tode, wie die aller nützlichen Tiere, zu *Mayin*, dem Höchsten Wesen in den Himmel hinaufgehen, dort zum Fürsprecher des Menschen, und *Mayin* belohnt dem Menschen mit Zuwachs zu seiner Rentierherde." <sup>44</sup> Although today there is no worship of the sun, according to Prokofyeva, among the Entsy and Nentsy, there are traces of worship in such practices as the sacrifice to the sun when it first appears in January and the dedication of white reindeer which have the representation of the sun with beams marked on their sides with a knife. <sup>45</sup>) As white reindeer will be mentioned again in other contexts we shall let these example suffice. <sup>46</sup>)

One last group of masters of reindeer breeding we shall consider is that of the great masters who supply men with their herds. Because of the length of the example we have chosen, we shall give just it. It is in the form of a saga told by the Yamal Samoyeds about the "Victuals-bestowing Grandfather" (der Lebensmittelverleihende Alte) and the adventures of the cultural hero Vylkka. On the one hand, it would be possible to summarize the "essence" of this particular master in a few sentences by tabulating the extent of the resources of his wealth, etc., but on the other hand, as soon as one would do something of that sort the whole flavor of the saga would be lost leaving us with little or no idea what this master was all about. The essence of narratives is always in their telling.

Vylkka, der Fänger von Riesen und Waldwesen, brach zur Erlgeung von reissenden Tieren des Meeres auf. Bei der Verfolgung des Eisbären mit Rentieren geriet er auf Treibeis, das weit nach dem Meere zu schwamm.

44) K. M. Rychkov, quoted from P. W. Schmidt, *Der Ursprung der Gottes-idee*, Vol. X, (Münster i.W., 1952), p. 542.

45) Op. cit., "Materialy po ...", p. 205.

46) Op. cit., Bogoras, *The Chukchee*, p. 305: the sun brought men once a herd of white reindeer.

Er trieb 40 Jahre, schliesslich auf einen Treibholz, und ganz erschöpft gelingt es ihm schliesslich, längs des gelben Eises ans Land zu kriechen. Er findet zwei Weiber, die ihn als kleines Vogelmannchen bezeichnen und ihn im Handschuh nach Hause tragen. Der Hausherr, der Lebensmittelspender-Geist, traf zu Hause ein mit einem Schlitten, dem zwei Renttiere von dem Umfang zweier grosser Berge vorgespannt waren ... Der Lebensmittelverleiher-Geist erzählt Vylkka, dass das gelbe Eis seine eiserne Brücke gewesen sei, längs der er über das Meer wandelt ... Vylkka schickte er aus, um die Renttiere zusammenzutreiben, wobei er auf die Erhebung gegenüber der Zelt steigen und dreimal rufen musste. Vylkka tat so, und aus allen Richtungen strömten Renttiere herbei. Die laufen den ganzen Tag an ihn vorüber, und immer noch sah er kein Ende. Für den Alten wurden Zugtiere gefangen und das Gespann angeschrirrt. Beim Aufbruch sprach der Lebensmittelverleiher-Geist zu Vylkka: "Drei Jahre bin ich abwesend, komm mir im dritten Jahr entgegen!" Hinter an seinem Schlitten band er 10 alte Renttierkühe an ... Als das Gespann aus dem Gesichtskreis verschwand, folgten ihm einige Zehntausend Renttiere. Sowie diese das Gespann erreichten, setzten sich die alten Kühe in scharfen Galopp. Der Alte war auch mitgezogen, Vylkka war mit den Töchtern allein daheim geblieben und schlief Tag und Nacht an ihren Busen. Nach drie Jahren sagte die ältere Schwester: "Wenn du dem Alten entgegengestehst und ihr auf dem Weg kommt, so zeigt dir der Alte allerlei Wunder. Lass dich von nichts verlocken, oder du bekommst dein eigenes Heim nie mehr sehen. Zäume die beiden Ochsen an, die der Alte im Sommer hält, die wissen selbst, wohin sie zu gehen haben und wo sie im Sommer gewesen sind. Sie wissen den Weg zur heiligen Erhebung, wo der Alte anhält, bleiben dort stehen und erwarten ihn ...—Vylkka geht dem Alten entgegen. Er betrachtet die Füsse der Zugtiere, die bewegen kaum ihre Füsse, er betrachtet den Wald—der Wald bleibt schnell hinter ihm. Die Renttiere hielten an der heiligen Erhebung an. Dort sieht er einige *sjaadaï's* (wooden idols) stehen. Als er genauer hinblickte, bemerkt er, wie sie ihren Mund bewegen und die Augen bewegen, genau wie lebende. Vylkka zog den Dolch aus der Scheide und schlitzte seine Brust auf, nahm seine Lunge, gab jedem ein Stückchen, und sie assen davon. Gleichzeitig traf der Alte ein, und es geschach, wie die Mädchen gesagt hatten.

Sie kamen zum Zelt, und der Alte zeigt Vylkka seine Renttiere, ehe dieser in sein eigenes Land aufbricht. Sie sind zahllos wie das Gras, nach sieben-tägiger Fahrt gelangten sie an den Rand einer Herde, und noch weiter, soweit das Auge reichte sind fünftausendköpfige Herden ... Mit dem Alten fuhr er sieben Tage inmitten der Renttierherden, am achten Tage erst wurden die Renttiere spärlicher ...—Nach einem Jahr bricht Vylkka mit der Tochter des Lebensmittelverleihergeistes als seinem Weib nach Hause auf. Karawanen mit beladenen Schlitten warteten draussen—von langer Vorbereitung war nichts zu bemerken gewesen—man brauchte sich nur hineinzusetzen und loszufahren. Von den Köpfen der zwei Zugtiere des Alten bis zum Schwanzende sind sieben Klafter. Der Alte sprach: "Diese Zugtiere finden selbst den Weg zu deinem Wohnort, ohne vom Wege abzuweichen. Siehst du auf dem Wege ein Haus, so kehre nicht darin ein noch schirre die Ochsen aus— es ist nicht weit davon, dass Gott mit ungnädigem Auge dreinschaut. Der Alte küsste beide auf die Nase und

band an den letzten Weiberschlitten drei alte Kühe. Sie brachen auf, die Kühe schlepten hinterher, und das Fell rieb sich auf dem Boden auf. Als Vylkka hinter sich blickt, sieht er, wie sich von der Herde 10,000 Rentiere losgelöst haben und dem Gespann folgen. So fahren sie den ganzen Winter. Einmal erscheint der Fahrweg so breit, dass das Auge ihn kaum ermessen kann. Dort waren wenig Rentier-, aber viel Menschenspuren. Vylkka kehrt in einigen Zelten ein. Dort haben alle, junge und alte, Knochenspaten wie Hörner am Kopfe ... Er sieht, wie die Menschen etwas unter dem Schnee hervorgaben und essen, und folgert daraus, dass er zu einem Rentiermoos essenden Volke gekommen ist ... Im Frühjahr gelangte er zum "Fluss der vom Wasser geführten Knochen." wo er den Sommer verbrachte. Im Herbst überquerte er den Jenisei, kam am Tas-Fluss, Nadym und Ob vorbei und gelangte zum Ural. Seine Schwester war inzwischen alt geworden, runzlig, grauhaarig. Vylkka erdrosselte sieben Rentiere zum Opfer und brachte vom *haehe*-Schlitten (sacred sled) eine Zaubertrommel aus Mammutbein ... Während Vylkkas Abwesenheit war die Zahl seiner Rentiere auf 10,000 gestiegen. Aus Vylkka wurde dann der Zauberer seines Stammes. 47)

### *Reindeer Ceremonials and Sacrifice*

In this section we shall come to discuss a number of practices of both hunting and pastoralist peoples connected with ceremonials that occur at special times of the year and with the more general phenomenon of reindeer sacrifice which can occur at any time of year and is carried out for most diverse reasons. Especially in the case of the sacrifice of reindeer, the extent and the diversity of the phenomenon make it impossible for us to deal with the subject in a comprehensive or systematic way. Nonetheless, we shall try to indicate some of the broad lines that appear throughout.

The seasonal ceremonials have a few overall common traits. In the first place, they have to do with the welfare of the herd and the economic advantages that man gains therefrom. It should not be thought that such practical matters exhaust the religious content or meaning of the ceremonials, yet they play an indispensable role. The same holds true for most forms of sacrifice. This point may seem obvious; however, it should be made to avoid either the excesses of an overly spiritualistic interpretation on the one hand or an overly materialistic one on the other. Another function of the ceremonials is that they figure in the nomadic existence of the people. Hence, they celebrate the safe return of the herds in the fall or wish a success-

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47) T. Lehtisalo, *Entwurf einer Mythologie der Jurak-Samojeden*, (Helsinki), 1924), pp. 34-39, (*Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne* 53).

ful spring migration. Also, they orientate man to the cycles of nature whether the falling of the first snows, the first appearance in winter of the sun, the return of grass to the tundra or the birth of fawns in the spring.

It will be remembered that we discussed the importance of the sacred fire-board among the Chukchee and especially the Koryak as the guardian of both the hearth and the herd. The idea of the unification of hearth and herd comes up again in the fall ceremonial of the "return of the herd from summer pastures." In the summer, most of the men follow the reindeer out of the low country to cooler ground in the hills or by the northern sea away from the clouds of insects, while the women, children and old folks remain in a summer camp to fish. When in the fall the weather begins to turn cold once more the men return with the herds to the summer camp. At the first approach of the herds the fires in the houses are extinguished and new sacred fires are lighted outside containing a spark from the sacred fire-board. Among the Koryaks the people run out to meet the herd hurling burning brands upon it.<sup>48)</sup> Several meanings were given for this by the people. Some said that "the herd is met with fire in the same manner as relatives and guests are welcomed;<sup>49)</sup> while, according to others, the fire signifies the source whence the reindeer originated. According to the second version, the One-On-High took the first reindeer out of the fire." After the herd has been greeted in this manner, well-grown fawns are slaughtered as a sacrifice to the One-On-High, and their blood is smeared on the guardian (the sacred fire-board) so that he might protect the herd from wolves during the winter. The fawn-skins are then used for the new winter clothing. The Chukchee know two such fall ceremonials called the "fawn-skin slaughtering" and "making skins for wearing (in the winter)".<sup>50)</sup> As the names indicate they are of great economic importance, as with the Koryak. The two Chukchee ceremonials differ from each other mainly in that the second is less elaborate than the first. They

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48) Op. cit., Jochelson, *The Koryak*, p. 86f.

49) In a Koryak tale, Yine'a-ne'ut and Twilight-Man drove to see Creator and Miti.—"Look here! they have come ... Take out a fire-brand," went up the cry followed by a wild scramble for the door (i.e., the smoke-hole of a semisubterranean house). After the welcome Twilight-Man and Creator each slaughtered some of their reindeer. See Jochelson, p. 194.

50) Op cit., Bogoras, *The Chukchee*, pp. 173ff.

begin in the same way as the Koryak, the arriving herd being greeted with shouts, the firing off of guns, the brandishing of spears and the shooting of charred sticks into the herd by the children, together with the igniting of sacred fires. Preliminary vegetable offerings are made to all the "directions" and the slaughter begins. The men walk through the herd choosing the fawns and grown bucks to be slaughtered. These are dispatched with knives and spears respectively. For each buck a female is killed and laid by the buck as a wife. Next, two rows of sledges are drawn up parallel to each other, in the midst of which is the special sled carrying the sacred fire-board and family charms. Within the rows of sledges the women light fires and begin to butcher and skin the reindeer. The heads are left on the skins, some of these being put on the sled with the sacred objects, others spread on the ground facing the "dawn". Food is fed to the fire and meat flung in all the "directions". The long-bones are broken for the marrow, which is both eaten and spread on the family charms. Blood is also collected for the painting ritual whereby each family has its own style that is painted in blood on people and sledges. After a meal is eaten, the drums are gotten out and a great shamanistic performance begins that lasts the whole day and in which all take part, even the children, everyone having a turn at the drum. If the "fawn-skin slaughtering" is combined with a "thanksgiving" ceremony, shamans gather from all over to engage each other in competitions. Wealthy reindeer owners invite many guests on whom lavish gifts are bestowed, and the festive atmosphere is further enhanced by foot races and wrestling matches.

In the spring, the Koryak hold a "fawn festival" after the actual fawning and after the reindeer have lost their antlers. New fires are started by means of the sacred fire-board, and reindeer are slaughtered to the One-On-High as a sacrifice. The antlers of the slaughtered reindeer, which have been preserved beforehand, are heaped in a pile. Curious is the custom of the owner to sit drumming for the entertainment of the fawns; he does upon hearing the sound of the drum say "Our master is amusing our fawns."<sup>51</sup>) The One-On-High is again offered sacrifice at the first appearance of the mosquitos lest the herds be scattered before reaching summer pastures.

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51) Op. cit., Jochelson, *The Koryak*, p. 87.

Mother earth is also sacrificed to in spring.<sup>52)</sup> The spring sacrifice of the Chukchee occurs between what they call first and second summer, at the time of migration to summer pastures when the tent is moved for the last time until the oncoming of winter. The three center poles are moved to the new site situated on high ground, and are placed down flat so that the points meet and the ends radiate out to form a circle. A reindeer is slaughtered over the center and a circle drawn around it in blood. Afterwards, many reindeer are slaughtered for the summer and the herd departs.<sup>53)</sup>

The Entsý carry out sacrifices of reindeer in the spring and fall, usually at their "sacred places".<sup>54)</sup> "They carry out the spring sacrifice at the beginning of the spring migration to the north, with the purpose of gaining prosperity for the reindeer herd for the summer period . . . The sacrifice is held near the herd. They sprinkle the blood of the sacrificed animal on the snow, as if watering grass, considering this as insuring its growth for the summer . . . During the fall migration to the south, they carry out a sacrifice with the request that the people be healthy and after a year be able to return to the place of the summer stop-over."<sup>55)</sup>

The Finnish Lapps held a sacrificial ceremony in the fall of the year after the first snow. In the evening went "drei Hirten in die Renttierhürde, und sie fingen mit dem Lasso ein im zweiten Jahre stehendes Renttier des ärmsten Renttierbesitzers, worüber sie im voraus übereingekommen waren. Es wurde mit einem Nackenstich getötet, der Kopf wurde abgeschnitten, und den Rumpf liess man liegen. Der Oberhirte nahm den Kopf, die anderen gingen voraus, ohne sich umzuheben. Als sie in die Nähe der Kote zurückgekehrt waren, versteckten sie den Kopf. Die Hauswirtin nahm drei Holz-scheite, von denen sie jeden der drei Hirten eins zuwarf, ohne ein Wort zu sagen. Die Hirten kehrten zu dem Kopf zurück, der Oberhirte schnitt ihm die Zunge heraus und setzte statt dessen das Holz-scheit ein. Dann gingen sie in den Wald nach der Opferstätte." A fire was built and the tongue put in it. Then, "der Oberhirte sprach . . . ein Gebet, die Waldgeister und den "allmächtigen" . . . Geist des

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52) Idem.

53) Op. cit., Bogoras, *The Chukchee*, p. 377.

54) Op. cit., Prokofyeva, p. 225.

55) Idem.



Oedlandes um Renttierglück bittend. Dann legte er den Rentierkopf in das Feuer ... — Wenn jenes Renttier im nächsten Sommer verfault war, sammelte der Oberhirte die Knochen und ordnete sie, gleichsam zu der Gestalt eines stehenden Renttiers. Man glaubte, der Geist der Einöde werden ein neues Renttier daraus schaffen." 56) In the fall and early winter they also held sacrifices and festive gatherings for the recovery of lost reindeer. In spring a sacrifice was held to insure the wellbeing of the reindeer calves, 57) and another at the release of the reindeer. 58)

Although the subject is far from exhausted by these few examples, we hope that they provide some idea of the ways in which these peoples religiously organize the yearly cycle of existence. The nomadic life is significantly structured, each important aspect of life being given its place within "sacred time", yet it is always a nomadic structuring having to do with the movement of people, and this element of activity within a somewhat fixed framework should not be lost sight of. The division of the year, indicated by the ceremonials, follows the migratory pattern of the reindeer, which provides a much different temporal orientation than does the agriculturalist calendar.

Sacrificial and ritual practices among peoples of northern Eurasia having to do with bones and skulls have already amply been attested to by a number of investigators so as to make documentation here superfluous. 59)

According to the information collected by Karjalainen, among the Yugra peoples "das Renttier ist das allgemeine Opfertier in den Gegend, wo es Haustier ist ... In früherer Zeit war die Benutzung des Renttieres zu diesem Zwecke überall verbreitet, sodass z.B. die Volksdichtung der südlichen Jugrer das Renn als spezielles Opfertier ... kennt." 60) Judging from all the other materials for the study of religion among the reindeer peoples that we have seen, this could

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56) T. I. Itkonen, *Heidnische Religion und späterer Aberglaube bei den finnischen Lappen*, (Helsinki, 1946), p. 20f. (*Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne* 87).

57) *Ibid.*, p. 23.

58) *Ibid.*, p. 24.

59) Cf. Ad. Friedrich, "Knochen und Skelett in der Vorstellungswelt Nordasiens," *Wiener Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte u. Linguistik* 5, (1943); *op. cit.*, A. Gahs.

60) *Op. cit.*, p. 127.

well be a general statement covering each group. For, throughout the whole area travelers and scientists have attested to the existence of countless sacred places that are characterized most often by great piles of bones, antlers and even whole carcasses of sacrificed reindeer. Of course, sacrifice is, as we have seen, never only limited to the sacred places of the forest and tundra, but can take place almost anywhere according to need and circumstance, even inside the dwelling itself.

Owing to the fact that the sacred places are pretty uniform in appearance we shall give only a couple of descriptions. In a caricature of nineteenth century ethnographic writing A. Montefiore gives the following:

"No notice of the Samoyeds, however brief, would be complete without a reference to their so-called "sacrificial piles" ... They vary but slightly in character, and are uniformly rude heaps of sticks, antlers and bones. They are erected on some slight natural eminence, and this is often emphasized by a rough layer or platform of stones and driftwood. On this eminence there usually are placed, without any attempt at arrangement, the bones of bear and deer; particularly the skulls and marrow-bones. The skulls of the deer have their antlers attached, and so many of these are usually found that the bones form a close bristling circular palisade. Among this mass of bones, many odds and ends occur ... From the midst of all this there rise a number of sticks and poles—some being less than a foot and others as long as six feet. They are stuck firmly in the ground, and at or near their summits are roughly cut to resemble the features of the human face. There may be a dozen of such "gods", and there may be as many as fifty or sixty. A goodly portion will hold aloft the skulls of bear and deer ... At these piles the Samoyed was wont, and Mr. Jackson believes is still occasionally addicted to sacrificing deer; and on these occasions the blood of the sacrifice is smeared on the slits which represent the mouths of the gods. It may also be noted that the carcasses of the sacrificed reindeer are never eaten, but left to decompose (or be consumed by birds and beasts of prey) on the site of the sacrifice.<sup>61)</sup>

The precincts of the spirits among the Lapps, called *sieiti*, seem to function in much the same way although they are limited to one god or spirit and do not acquire such piles of sacrificial refuse. However, the *sieidi* are offered antlers, heads and skins of reindeer.<sup>62)</sup> According to Itkonen: "Die Renntierlappen dienten ihren

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61) "Notes on the Samoyed of the Great Tundra", *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, 24, (1895), p. 399f.

62) Cf. op. cit., Itkonen, pp. 12ff.; Uno Holmberg, *Die Wassergottheiten der finnisch-ugrischen Völker*, (Helsinki, 1913), pp. 17, 26. (Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne 32).

Göttern am besten im Herbst und im Frühjahr. Im Herbst opferte man zum Dank für den vergangenen Sommer und wegen des künftigen Gedeihens der Herde, im Frühjahr wiederum in der Hoffnung auf ein glückliches Kelben und einen guten Sommer." The animal is usually a white reindeer bull or ox. <sup>63)</sup>

Among the forest people the sacred places are most often holy thickets in the woods where sacred trees stand. Around under the trees are wooden or stone idols of various spirits, and in the trees hang great numbers of reindeer skins and antlers. <sup>64)</sup> Among the Samoyeds, the sacred places of the forest often contain small houses, similar to supply caches, where images of gods and ancestor spirits are kept. All around one finds the remains of reindeer sacrifice. <sup>65)</sup>

That the tundra, forest and the shores of rivers and lakes are dotted with sacred places where the people go to hold sacrifice is a witness to the fact the space in which these peoples travel is never totally homogeneous, but is structured in such a way as to hold open the possibility of sacred orientation. It is never enough simply to know perfectly the whole territory in which one hunts or herds reindeer, rather, certain places must be given greater meaning than that of just being known. For us, sacred places for the most part no longer exist, we only recognize "landmarks". On the other hand, for the peoples of the northern forests and tundra such places have much greater meaning attached to them. Of course, the feeling of sanctity does not arise out of the blue, so to speak, but because for whatever peculiar reasons the place in question manifests the sacred or possesses uncanny powers.

Most sacred places are the sanctuaries of a god or spirit, so it is there that sacrifice is most frequently carried out. As we have already seen in several cases the goal of the sacrifice is the goodwill of the deity so as to insure plentiful game, the increase of the herd, or the general wellbeing of the people. Although Gahs' enthusiasm over the "High-God" led to excesses, his findings did show the preeminence of the reindeer in connection with the so-called head, skull and long-bone sacrifices, and that these sacrifices were dedicated to a powerful

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63) Op. cit., p. 55.

64) Op. cit., Karjalainen, p. 94.

65) Kai Donner, *Among the Samoyed in Siberia*, (New Haven, 1954), p. 33f.

deity whether the High-God or the dispenser of hunting or reindeer luck. <sup>66)</sup> In addition to the bones, the skin and hoofs of the sacrificed animals are in many places of equal importance, for it is thought necessary that the deity receive a whole animal. „Aus dem Hauptzwecke des Tieropfers und den allgemeingültigen Seelenvorstellungen ergibt sich, dass das Fell des Opfertiers möglichst vollständige mit, Kopf, Füßen und Schwanz, aufgehängt oder in anderen Weise den Geiste übergeben wird ... Das Fell wird am gewöhnlichsten durch Aufhängen dargebracht; es wird an heiliger Stätte an einem Baumzweige befestigt, besonders bei Opfern auf den Renttiergebieten, oder wird über eine Stange gelegt, die an heiliger Stätte waagrecht auf Baumästen oder gabelförmig auslaufenden festgerammten Stützpfehlen ruht.“ <sup>67)</sup>

At the time of sacrifice a prayer is usually addressed to the deity or spirit. Some prayers are quite simple. For example, when a Koryak sacrifices to the One-On-High to insure safe delivery of his does he will say, “Well, let us live, Existence !” <sup>68)</sup> A more elaborate prayer is the following of a Yugrian from northern Kazym:

“ ... komm her zu unseren Opfer dieses angebundenen gehörnten Renttierochsen, zu unserem Opfer des knöchigen Renttierochsen, um die dampfende Schüssel voll Dampf, die rauchende Schüssel voll Rauch entgegenzunehmen ! Lass unsere Töchter auf Boden ohne Gruben einherschreiten, unsere Söhne auf Boden ohne Gruben einherschreiten, erwirke es von deinem heiligen Torem-Vater mit den sieben Rauchfängen ! ... Nimm das Opfertier auf in die von deinem Vater geschaffene hundertochsige Renttierochsenherde ! Wir bitten, um weiter hin zu leben um Sonnenlicht, wir bitten um weiterhin zu leben um Mondlicht. <sup>69)</sup>

Or simply: “Ich habe dir ein Renttier geschlachtet, nimm seine Seele !” <sup>70)</sup>

The common methods for slaughtering the reindeer differ somewhat from group to group. Generally the animal is killed first by strangulation or a heavy blow on the back of the neck, then stabbed in the heart with a knife or spear, or it may simply be killed by means of a spear thrust. However, when it is a question of offering sacrifice

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<sup>66)</sup> Op. cit., p. 258f.

<sup>67)</sup> K. F. Karjalainen, *Die Religion der Jugra-Völker*, Vol. III, (Helsinki, 1927), p. 121f. (FF Communications 63).

<sup>68)</sup> Op. cit., Jochelson, *The Koryak*, p. 98.

<sup>69)</sup> Op. cit., Karjalainen, Vol. III, p. 97.

<sup>70)</sup> Idem.

to spirits of the waters, another method is employed known as "submersion sacrifice".<sup>71)</sup> The latter form of sacrifice is very old, going back certainly to the mesolithic of north Germany.<sup>72)</sup> There, in a now dried up lake were found the bones of two-year old reindeer does which had been submerged with heavy weights into the water. At the shore was also discovered a stake and reindeer skull that had apparently once stood erect in the same way as those of modern Siberian peoples do today. Although we have no idea what the meaning of the ancient rite might have been, we do know that in our own times it has to do most often with fishing luck. "Ist der Fischfang im Ob nicht ergiebig, so sollen die obdorschen Ostjaken bisweilen einen Stein um den Hals eines Renntieres hängen und dieses als Opfer in den Fluss versenken."<sup>73)</sup> In late fall when the Yurak-Samoyeds come to the Ob they drop a bound and weighted down reindeer through a hole in the ice and say, "Wassergeist, schicke mir auch im Zukunft Fische! Lass mich nicht im Wasser umkommen!" Also reindeer skulls have been found on posts where offerings had been made to water spirits.<sup>74)</sup> Among the Woguls, it is thought that the mammoths live under the water and play a special role in fishing. Hence, they are given reindeer in sacrifice when the fishing goes poorly.<sup>75)</sup> The Samoyeds of the tundra from Timan throw the feet and skull bones of strangled reindeer to the water spirit Grandfather in order to insure a good catch.<sup>76)</sup>

Something that all these many reindeer sacrifices have in common with each other is that they are offered to a spirit or deity in a very real way. Quite naturally the superhuman power is to receive the sacrificed animal; and this is seldom thought of in allegorical ways. If you should want to offer a reindeer to the water-Spirit then the best thing to do is send it off to where the Spirit is; the same holds true for the celestial deities—the reconstruction of the animal and the hanging up of the antlers, skull and skin accomplishes in spacial terms

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71) Cf. Alois Closs, "Das Versenkungsopfer," *Wiener Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte u. Linguistik*, 9, (1952).

72) The finds of A. Rust summarized in J. Maringer, *The Gods of Prehistoric Man*, (New York, 1960), pp. 167-173.

73) Op. cit., Holmberg, p. 57.

74) Op. cit., Lehtisalo, p. 45f.

75) Op. cit., Karjalainen, Vol. III, p. 26.

76) Op. cit., Lehtisalo, p. 46.

the elevation of the sacrifice to a supramundane level. It is a further necessity that the shaman must frequently journey with the soul of the reindeer and thus insure its safe arrival at the place of the deity. The literal spacial orientation of the direction in which the sacrifice is to go is also seen in the practice of the Voguls to bury the reindeer sacrificed to the prince of the underworld under the dwelling.

The old sacrificial formula "do ut des" is certainly not without application in the instances of reindeer sacrifice that we have cited. However, lest we think that this is all that is here involved, or that the ritual procedure is always carried out in rather perfunctory manner, we shall reproduce a description of a northern Vogul sacrificial ceremony at one of the sacred places, told in an especially delightful way by Nosilov and quoted by Karjalainen: <sup>77</sup>)

... Zum Opfer begab man sich am Vormittag, im Renntiergespann. Auf dessen Schlitten waren Opfergegenstände aus dem kleinen Speicher im Hofe Sopra's, des Hüters von Speicher und Geist, aufgeladen: grosse Eisen- und Kupferkessel, grosse Feuerstangen aus Eisen und Holz, Topfträger, unförmliche altmodische Bogen und Pfeile, Masken aus Birkenrinde usw. Bei der Ankunft am Speicher knieten die Wogulen vor dem Oeffnen dreimal nieder und murmelten etwas vor sich hin, nach dem Oeffnen liessen sie sich abermals auf die Knie nieder und murmelten "Gebete und Zaubersprüche". Während Sopra und der Autor dem Geisterbilde neue Kleider anlegten, machten die anderen die Opferstätte zurecht, eine kleine Oeffnung im Walde ... Dort bot sich der Anblick eines echten Wildenlagers: Lagerfeuer brannten, Menschen sprangen hin und her, Feuergeknasten und Stimmengeschwirr summten durcheinander. Rauch erhob sich wie bei einem Feuerbrand gegen den sich schon langsam verdunkelnden Himmel, und die Flammen von ca 10 mächtigen Feuern beleuchteten die Waldlandschaft, die Menschen und die scheu gewordenen Renntiere, die an den Semrastämmen angebunden waren ... Es waren dies nicht dieselben Renntiere, mit denen wir gekommen waren, alle waren jung, dem Tode geweiht, eins weiss wie Schnee ... Auf den Feuern waren Kessel bereit, in denen Schnee schmolz. Alle waren in fieberhafter Tätigkeit. Der alte Sopra gab die letzten Anweisungen, die Wogulen stürzten auf die bedauernswerten Tiere zu und zertritten sie an den Seilen an die Lagerfeuer. Die Tiere sträbten sich, entsetzt starteten sie ins Feuer, sie röchelten unter dem Druck des festgezogenen Seiles am Halse, gingen aber doch vorwärts, da sie von hinten gestossen wurden. Eins versuchte einen verzweifelten Sprung in die Höhe, aber es wurde mit dem Seil so kräftig zurückgerissen, dass es auf den Rücken fiel, die Beine nach oben. Mehrere Männer eilten herbei, hoben es auf und begannen es abermals nach dem Feuer zu zu zerren, wo schon ein mächtiger

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77) Op. cit., Vol. III, pp. 170ff.

Eisentopf brausend siedete, und in dem auch bald das Fleisch dieses Renn-tiers sieden sollte.

Die Renttiere wurden vor den Lagerfeuern aufgestellt und um den Hals wurde eine Schlinge gelegt, an deren beiden Enden je ein Wogule anpackte. Dabei heulte Sopra plötzlich mit rauher Stimme auf. Die Wogulen liessen einen entsetzlichen Schrei hören, und ehe ich einen Gedanken fassen konnte, was jetzt geschah, schlugen die Renttiere auf einmal heftig um sich, wandten sich, sprangen, fielen ins Knie und tobten. Ein grausiges Schauspiel begann. Die Renttiere wurden erdrosselt, Pfeile wurden abgeschossen, die lautlos die Luft durchschnitten und in den Körper der Tiere drangen. Das schreien der Wilden dauerte an und wurde immer kräftiger. Blut spritzte auf, Röcheln ertönte und eines nach dem anderen fielen die Tiere vor dem Feuer auf die Knie nieder ... Die Wogulen schrieten immer lauter. Der Wald schallte von wütenden Stimmen wieder. Ich wollte mich schon in die Flucht stürzen, in die Flucht vor einem solchen grausigen, entsetzlichen Schauspiel ... Endlich verstummte alles. Die Renttiere lagen tot bei den Feuern und über sie gebeugt standen die Wilden da, eine Weile gleichsam vom Entsetzen für einen Augenblick gelähmt vom Anblick des Todes, und Sopra, der Alte, hob seine Hände gen Himmel wie ein opfernder Apostel ...

The account continues at some length in the same vein to describe how the animals were butchered and cooked, and the Spirit of the place given bloody offerings, and how too the skins of the dead reindeer were hung on poles.

### *Shamanism*

Eliade has shown that the essential feature of shamanism is the ability of the shaman to go into a state of ecstasy in which it becomes possible for his soul to leave his body and to journey, provided that he have sufficient powers, to all the various levels of the cosmos. The reasons for undertaking such journeys which are fraught with many dangers, the life of the shaman often being at stake, are many. We have already seen a few examples. As it would lead us far afield to enumerate all the many purposes for shamanistic journeys, we shall only point to the fact that the activity of the shaman qua shaman is always this ecstatic trip to regions of the cosmos where normal people cannot venture, or if they would could not return alive. In a passage which we quoted in our Introduction we found that something like shamanistic ecstasy was present even in the high culture of classical Greece. However, there in the philosophical system of Plato the ecstatic journey was given an allegorical meaning and was viewed as a model for the soul's acquisition of divine knowledge that could not be attained through the natural process of dialectical reason-

ing. This philosophical translation of the meaning of ecstasy is not to be found among the reindeer peoples of the North. The flight of the shaman's soul is a *real* event, taking place in the macrocosmos without, not the microcosmos within the mind of man. Thus, the movement of the shaman within the cosmos, in its broadest sense, is a matter of crucial significance for our present study.

The journey of the shaman is hardly ever a simple matter of going into ecstasy. Much more is required for the superhuman and dangerous trip. Often the shaman must be transformed into a special animal that gives him greater powers than his merely human ones. He must also have a steed or some other means of reaching the far-off places he is required by his mission to visit. Finally, he must have his helping spirits who will come to his aid in times of crises or show him the way through difficult passages. For many shamans the reindeer plays a leading role in some or all of these things. It is the role of the reindeer in shamanism that we shall now investigate.

The outward manifestation of the shaman's transformation into animal form is his costume. According to Shirokogoroff <sup>78)</sup> the reindeer Tungus of Transbaikalia know two general classes of shaman costumes, the duck and the reindeer. As the names indicate, the form the shaman assumes depends upon his type of costume. The duck costume is for the flight to heaven or the upper worlds, while the reindeer type is for the descent into the underworld. Apart from the differences between the costumes according to the animals portrayed, a matter of primary importance is the difference in function of the two costumes. The duck costume is designed for the flight of the shaman and is thus rather light in weight, having a minimum of metal objects attached to it. Accordingly, it does not take much skill to master this costume. Flights to the upper worlds are not considered especially perilous so that it is usually the inexperienced novice who has the duck costume. The reindeer costume, on the other hand, is usually exceedingly heavy, weighing perhaps 40 kilos, and thus makes flying for shamans of this category at best difficult. Yet, the ability of the reindeer shaman to fly is of little importance, for he must risk the dangers of the descent into the underworld where only full equipment and skill can hope to win the day. Unlike the shaman of

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78) Op. cit., pp. 288ff.



the duck category, the reindeer shaman must be old and filled with the years' accumulation of experience.

In its symbolism the reindeer costume is a reproduction of the important anatomical features of the animal. The skin used in the making is that of a reindeer (or elk) and on it must be portrayed the bones of the skeleton. The coat contains the bones of the trunk. The trousers and knee-protectors are equipped with leg-bones of iron, coloured chamois or white reindeer fur. The moccasins also have iron bones. On his head the shaman wears a cap consisting of an iron head-band with four cross-strips of iron, on top of which is a set of iron antlers. In addition to his clothing, the shaman also makes use of wooden staves that are the reindeer he rides to the other world on. Beyond the reindeer symbolism is a host of other imagery, including boats, heavenly bodies, weapons, cosmic trees, pieces of iron, snakes, and figures of helping spirits.

The same sort of symbolism is found among the nomadic Tungus of the far North. According to Jochelson, the cap of the Tungus shaman is equipped with iron antlers<sup>79)</sup> and his drum is actually his reindeer.<sup>80)</sup>

The symbolism of the reindeer also figures in the costume of the Enets, Sel'kup and Dolgan shamans. Although the costumes usually represent birds, there appear on the backs of the coats iron figures of reindeer. "On the Enets costume they symbolize deer-spirits, "the heavenly deer" on which the shaman makes his journey to the sky. In the "first sky" live *nga kozu*, the "heavenly people", and they have herds of "heavenly deer"."<sup>81)</sup> On the caps of the Enets shamans are L-shaped brass projections that are the tips of reindeer antlers which the shaman uses in battles with other shamans and for cutting through storm-clouds.<sup>82)</sup> Like the Tungus shamans, the Enets shamans have reindeer staves. These belong only to the shamans of the highest category and are forged of iron. "At the tip of the handle a face was depicted—the "master" of the staff. The lower end usually was fashioned like a deer hoof. The staff was used by the shamans

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79) Op. cit., *The Yukaghir* etc., p. 187.

80) Ibid., p. 184.

81) Ye. D. Prokofyeva, "The Costume of an Enets Shaman," op. cit., *Studies in Siberian Shamanism*, p. 131.

82) Ibid., p. 141.

for treatment of the sick and for “conducting the souls of the dead to the next world,” i.e. in all instances in which the shaman was faced with taking the “road to the other world,” especially when there was the prospect of “crossing the icy road separating the visible world from the lower, invisible world.”<sup>83)</sup> The reindeer symbolism of these shamans was completed by an iron bar fastened below the knee of the right boot, the leg and hoof of a reindeer depicted with the bone marrow.<sup>84)</sup>

The most important piece of shamanistic equipment is the drum.<sup>85)</sup> The symbolisms and ideologies relating to the magical drums of shamans are as complex as they are extensive. Here, we can only say that they are necessary for a séance to take place, for they are the primary instrument of the shaman’s ecstasy. In construction they are both replicas of the cosmos and usually are live creatures. We shall now take up the latter aspect, and that only as it pertains to the subject of reindeer.

We shall describe, unfortunately at second-hand, the “drum vivification” ceremony of the Sel’kup shamans.<sup>86)</sup> When a shaman receives a new drum it is necessary for him to perform a long ritual that has as its aim the bringing to life of the drum from its inanimate state. Appropriately, the ceremony takes place in the spring at a time when the whole frozen tundra comes to life with the thawing of the ground. On the first day of the ceremony a séance is held; the shaman and his helping spirits go to the place of the shamanistic world-tree, where they gather up the chips of wood that remain after the construction of the drum. The wood chips they take to the swamp of the old-woman-mistress of the universe, *Ylyunda kotta*, located at the center of the world. The second day of the ceremony is devoted to retracing the steps of the reindeer, with whose skin the drum is covered, back to its place of birth. “While tracing the “road of life” of this deer, the shaman collects everything, down to the last hair, dropped by the deer, and carries it away to the swamp, to the dwelling

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83) Ibid., p. 153.

84) Ibid., p. 143.

85) Op. cit., M. Eliade, *Shamanism* etc., pp. 168-76

86) Originally given by G. N. Prokofyev, “Tseremoniya ozhivleniya bubna u ostyak-samoyedov,” *Izvestiya Leningradskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta*, Vol. II, (1930), summarized by op. cit., Anisimov, pp. 187ff.

of the mistress of the universe, *Ylyunda kotta*. Imitating the capture of a deer, the shaman catches the soul of the deer, with the assistance of seven wolves and their mother.”<sup>87)</sup> On the third day comes the actual vivification of the drum. The “raven-father” and the “raven-mother” acting as helping spirits of the shaman, fly to the swamp of the mistress of the universe where exist the two whirlpools of the waters of life and the waters of death. With the waters of life they “sprinkle . . . the remains of the deer, and thus revive the shamanistic deer—the drum. After this, the shaman erects next to the tent a sacrificial tree, which in the rite personifies the sacred tree of the universe . . . On this sacrificial tree the shaman hangs his new drum, which in the perception of the participants in the rite is fused with the image of the “resurrected” deer, replacing it, as it were.”<sup>88)</sup> Although the ceremony continues for days, we shall stop here. Among the Teleuts of the Altai a similar vivification ceremony takes place. However, the animal that is brought to life is the mythological animal of the clan totem (the horse?).<sup>89)</sup> Among the Sel’kup, the animal, the reindeer, seems to be only the particular one with whose skin the drum was covered.<sup>90)</sup> In any case, it is plain that the purpose of the vivification of the drum is to provide the shaman with the steed necessary for his great journeys to the other worlds.

The above remarks on the equipment of the shamans show that the image of the reindeer is often eminently important in the life of the shaman. Nonetheless, it should not be thought of as the only or the most important aspect of shamanistic paraphernalia generally, for shamans can assume many other forms, e.g., birds, wolves, bears, fish, and numerous fur-bearing animals. We might wonder why it is the reindeer appears so frequently and why or how an animal like it should be thought of in some cases as a flying animal.

The first question might best be answered by citing a statement made by Shirokogoroff about the Tungus shamans. Being transformed

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87) Ibid., p. 189.

88) Idem.

89) Ad. Friedrich and G. Buddruss, *Schamanengeschichten aus Sibirien*, (München, 1955), pp. 74ff.

90) Eliade’s thesis that the rite is a mystical experience allowing “the shaman to transcend time and space” (p. 171) is based in part on the totemistic explanation of the Teleut rite.

into a reindeer, "the shaman feels himself swift, vigilant, watchful, the best animal the Tungus know." <sup>91)</sup> The antlers of the reindeer may also be at the base of an explanation. We saw that in the case of sacrifice the antlers often play a big part. Sacred places are littered with them. The Chukchee even have a special "ceremonial of antlers" —they collect all the antlers of the animals in their herds and when the collection of antlers becomes too heavy to transport (usually in spring) they place them all in a great pile and hold a sacrifice. <sup>92)</sup> Antlers are often piled in large quantities on graves. For the meaning of these general costumes we could find no positive explanation. Perhaps they possess the same sort of magico-religious power as bones; or, it may be their ability to grow anew each year; or, the very magnificent size and shape of the reindeer antler itself may present a kind of natural symbol. In shamanism the antlers seem, as already seen, to function as weapons for the most part, but also as symbols of power. On the Lappish magical drums reindeer are portrayed in great numbers; these stylistic drawings are mostly of stags and accentuate the size of the antlers. "Dieses hängt selbstverständlich damit zusammen," says E. Manker, "dass die Figuren bald ein Wildren, bald einen grösseren Zuchthirsch, ein Zugren oder einen *saivo-sarva*, welches der *noide* für seine Fahrten in die „andere Welt“ oder als Kampffren gegen andere Noiden gebrauchte, darstellen. Für alle derartige Fälle kommen grosse und starke Tiere im Frage." <sup>93)</sup> The shaman is not simply a master of ecstatic technique, but also a warrior. In the month of January when the Yenessei-Ostyaks enter the forests to hunt, a shamanistic performance must be carried out in order to prevent Hosédam, the evil earth-goddess, from following and visiting misfortune on the people. For the ceremony two larches are found between which the trail passes, and a wooden representation of Hosédam is made facing down the trail. It is the task of the shaman to head her back "up-stream", i.e., the trail is thought of as a stream. During the contest which ensues between the

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91) Op. cit., p. 295.

92) Op. cit., Bogoras, *The Chukchee*, p. 377f.

93) *Die Lappische Zaubertrommel*, Vol, II, "Die Trommel als Urkunde Geistigen Lebens," (Stockholm, 1950), p. 34. *Saivo-sarva* are the battle-reindeer (Kampfrentiere) of the noides (shamans).

shaman and Hosédam and her helping spirits, the shaman sings, among many more, the following verses: <sup>94)</sup>

Grossmutter, der Einbaum ist entzweigegangen,  
Such schnell in deinem Sack !  
Jetzt kommen die Gottesworte wieder herbei,  
Jetzt wendet sich des Rentiergeweih wieder rückwärts.

Nur langsam geht es auf dem Schamanenweg weiter.  
Auf dem Himmelsweg komt das Rentiergeweih zurück,  
Die Rentierwolken kommen wieder zurück,  
Der Gotteswald wächst aus der Erde.

Nebel ist im Himmel.  
Jetzt sprechen sie wieder  
Das Rentiergeweih ist halb in der Luft!  
Jetzt gehe ich ein ganzes Jahr weg.

The wooden statue is then turned around; the people are free to proceed into the forest.

Another aspect of the shamans' reindeer antlers is that they are made of iron or some other metal. Of course, the very properties of iron make it much more valuable to the shaman than antler. Yet, the superior quality of iron is expressed in religious terms. For it is only the heavenly reindeer or the reindeer belonging to some super-human being that have antlers of iron instead of the usual material. In one Koryak tale we read how Big-Raven once flew with all his reindeer and sledges to the sky. When, after quite some time, he returned to earth the reindeer had iron antlers <sup>95)</sup> A Yukaghir creation story tells that at the time when Creator created the earth, he made the bear master of all animals and all paid him due homage except for the wild reindeer. Once the Forest-Owner was out hunting and wanted to devour a fawn, but the fawn persuaded him to wait a little while. At the end of two years the Forest-Owner came for his meal, but was rewarded by being gored to death by the fawn who by that time had grown a set of iron antlers. <sup>96)</sup> In another Yukaghir tale the hero, a Lamut, meets the Wood-Master who has a sledge of iron pulled by a great reindeer buck, also of iron. <sup>97)</sup> In Chuckchee

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<sup>94)</sup> P. W. Schmidt, *Der Ursprung der Gottesidee*, Vol. XI, (Münster i.W., 1954), p. 532.

<sup>95)</sup> Op. cit., Jochelson, p. 28.

<sup>96)</sup> Op. cit., Bogoras, "Tales of the Yukaghir etc.", p. 20.

<sup>97)</sup> Ibid., pp. 10ff.

mythology the Sun is described as having reindeer with copper antlers.<sup>98</sup>) These examples seem to provide some basis for supposing that the iron antlers of the shamans are powerful not just on account of the material from which they are made, but also because of the special animals from which such antlers come.

The idea of reindeer that can fly through the air is indeed fantastic. We have already had occasion to see instances of such flights, particularly in the myths and tales. Without a doubt, the basic explanation of these events has been given by Eliade; the ability to fly above the earth expresses what was possible only in those wonderful times spoken of in the myths and tales. Now there are only a few people who still maintain a direct communication with all levels of the cosmos, and these people, the shamans, in a sense act out for all of mankind what was once open to everyone. Hence, it is only the shamans, or beings of a different nature from men, who possess all the wonders that in the ancient times were had by all. However, in addition to the mythical background, we should not lose sight of the practical necessity to the shaman of having reindeer that can fly or cross "the difficult passage", or of he himself becoming a reindeer capable of accomplishing these things. The shaman does not merely act out for the crowd what it experiences only in fantasy and myth, rather, he usually has a very necessary task to fulfill, such as providing game, fighting evil spirits of disease, conducting souls to the realm of the dead, etc. When the shaman takes off on this steed he embarks on a very real mission to very real places.

### *The Journey of the Dead*

It is perhaps fitting to close our discussion of reindeer on this morbid note. After all, everything must end somewhere, so why not end it in the proper place?

Among all the reindeer peoples of Eurasia one finds the existence of special rites for the dead that involve the reindeer in a conspicuous way, namely, as psychopomp. The idea of the dead needing some sort of vehicle to reach the other world is found among most all peoples. In the case of the reindeer peoples, since the reindeer is the common draft or riding animal it is only natural to suppose that it would be the best suited animal to carry the dead. In the few examples that

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<sup>98</sup>) Op. cit., Bogoras, *The Chukchee*, p. 305.

follow we shall see in what ways this journey of the dead is conceived.

Although it is impossible for us to go into all the different conceptions of the land of the dead<sup>99)</sup> found among the peoples of the North, we might indicate that on the whole there is uncertainty as to its whereabouts. At one and the same time it is a land situated far to the north or west and a land located under the earth. It is difficult to arrive at a satisfactory explanation of this. On the one hand, it may be that the two realms were once conceived of as distinct, the underworld being the abode of evil spirits, the land of the dead in the west or north being the true home of the dead. On the other hand, it may well be that the realm of the dead has always had what seems to us an ambiguous nature. Another possibility is that the dead must travel to the edge of the earth, where sky and earth meet, in order to reach the road down to the underworld. "Nach der Auffassung der Wogulen von der Soswa ist dies Unterwelt im Norden, beim Eismeer. Wenn ein Wogule gestorben ist, geht seine Seele flussabwärts, den Ob abwärts ins Meer. Dort ist ein Loch, durch das er in die Unterwelt gelangt."<sup>100)</sup> In any case, no matter where the realm of the dead does lie, it remains a good distance from the land of the living and a long journey is required in order to reach it.

One of the main purposes of the burial ceremony is to provide the dead person with the means of making the trip and, in many cases, to send him on his way, if not to take him the whole distance. Ceremonies are often quite complicated involving many intricate steps in the handling of the body, the preparation of the things needed in the other world, and the construction of the burial site. We shall only concern ourselves with the transport of the body.

Among the Chukchee, the burial takes place in the following manner.<sup>101)</sup> After it has been ascertained through a process of divination where the deceased wishes to be buried, the body is carried out of the tent, either through the smokehole or through the lower folds of the tent-cover in the rear of the tent. The body is bound to the funeral sledge (which should be new or in good repair), reindeer

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99) For a collection of materials see, Olof Pettersson, *Jabmek and Jabmeaimo*, (Lund, 1957).

100) Artturi Kannisto, *Materialen zur Mythologie der Wogulen*, (Helsinki, 1958), p. 66. (*Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne* 113).

101) Op. cit., Bogoras, *The Chukchee*, pp. 525-33.

are hitched up and the funeral cortège departs for the place of burial. There an enclosure has been marked off with stones or pieces of wood. Having arrived at the enclosure the people begin the second part of the ceremony. "The sledge with the corpse is pointed with its head toward "midnight". Then the reindeer are unhitched, and with four knives are stabbed simultaneously from the right and from the left side. As soon as they have fallen the harness is put on again; but the collars are now placed over the right shoulders, the reverse of the usual way. The chief of the cortège, sitting in his place astride of the corpse, jerks the reins violently, and urges the reindeer with the whip, pretending that he is going fast to the country of the dead. The other people encourage him, exclaiming, "Oh, they are going fast!" The chief of the cortège says, "I have reached the confines of the country of the dead." When the reindeer cease kicking, the chief of the cortège says, "We have arrived." "102) After this the reindeer are butchered and their carcasses left on the spot together with the antlers, which are placed one on each side of the deceased's head. The sledge, harness and traces are also left. On the return trip from the burial site the cortège is reversed. Someone draws lines in the snow behind the people as they go; these form great rivers and chasms. Someone else leaves behind stones that turn into high mountains, a cup that turns into a sea and grass that grows into a dense forest. At the family tent the skins of the slaughtered reindeer are spread out on the floor and objects of iron thrown on top of them, making an iron net through which the dead cannot penetrate from the world beneath. At intervals of two and five days feasts are held at the grave. The antlers of slaughtered reindeer are placed in a line extending from the head of the corpse toward "midnight". Each year thereafter antlers are collected and brought to the site, until quite a pile of these develops.

The meaning of this ceremony is fairly transparent. Although the actual journey of the dead to the other world may appear a bit gruesome to us, we are at least struck with the vivid reality of the trip, the activity and excitement of the participants. Be it also noted that, while no shaman is present, all members of the funeral cortège have ventured beyond the bounds of the earth.

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102) Ibid., p. 526.



Among the Yugra peoples who possess reindeer the dead are drawn to the burial ground by reindeer which are usually strangled at the grave. This takes place in the following way. "Wenn die Leiche des Verstorbenen von Rentieren zum Grabe gezogen wird, werden diese Zugtiere am Rande des frisch hergestellten Grabes erwürgt: man bindet das andere Ende eines an einem Baum befestigten Sticks in einer Laufschnur um den Hals des Rentieres, worauf dieses durch Schläge gezwungen wird auf und ab zu laufen, bis es erstickt. Dann wird ein zugespitztes Pfahl in das Herz des Tieres gestossen." <sup>103)</sup> Karjalainen does not say what the meaning is, but it is clear that this is the same kind of ritual we found among the Chukchee. The drawn out and painful death of the animal is in fact the journey to the other world. After having killed the animal the people slaughter it. The bones are collected and wrapped up in the skin, which is placed on the left side of the grave. <sup>104)</sup> Sometimes the head with antlers is put on the roof of the grave-house. <sup>105)</sup> All these procedures have the goal of giving the deceased a draft animal for the other world. Karjalainen interprets the strangling as a measure to prevent the breath and the blood, both seats of the soul, from escaping before the animal has reached its destination. <sup>106)</sup>

Even though Christianity has obscured the original meaning of the death ceremony among the Lapps, the old use of reindeer has continued. The Kolta-Lapps do not kill the reindeer that drew the corpse to the cemetery, but give it to a relative of the dead person as a memorial reindeer to be slaughtered only after three years have elapsed. According to Kharuzin: "Nach dem Tode fliegt der Geist auf drei Tage zu Gott, kehrt dann auf die Erde zurück und fährt mit einem Rentier ... an alle die Stellen, wo er sich in seinem Leben aufgehalten hatte. Die Reise dauert drei Woche bis drei Jahre; danach kommt der Vorstorbene in das Paradies oder in die Hölle." <sup>107)</sup>

Rather than multiply examples, we might end this section with the following story about a certain Mansi (Wogul) who ...

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<sup>103)</sup> K. F. Karjalainen, *Die Religion der Jugra-Völker*, Vol. I, (Porvoo, 1921), p. 120. (FF Communications 41).

<sup>104)</sup> Ibid., p. 121.

<sup>105)</sup> Ibid., p. 119.

<sup>106)</sup> Ibid., p. 150.

<sup>107)</sup> Op. cit., Itkonen, p. 187.

... was riding down in the direction of the Khurypaul yurts. The reindeer, which up to then had been going well, suddenly balked and began to throw themselves to one side. He looked, but there was nobody in front. The reindeer became even more disturbed. Suddenly he saw old man Semyem riding up with two reindeer. One of them had a white nose, the other had big antlers. He called out to him: "Where are you going?" But that one did not answer, and when the sleighs had passed each other, and he turned around, he didn't see anything. Then the reindeer once again went well. When he got to the yurts, he asked: "Where was old man Semyen riding?" "Old man Semyen," they said, "he just died." <sup>108)</sup>

### *Conclusion*

Having made this brief excursus into the life of the reindeer peoples of northern Eurasia, we hope not to have left the reader with the idea that we found a general systematic completeness in the religious practices and conceptions we presented. Nor is this to say that all we found was sheer chaos. Through the great diversity of phenomena we sought to indicate one sort of basic orientation to life, namely, an orientation where movement played a key role. The patterns of both the material and spiritual life, often hard to disentangle from each other, showed again and again a mode of existence that could never remain static.

To say that a certain kind of life is never static, does not imply that there is nowhere a fixed place of orientation, that all is, so to speak, eternal flux without rhyme or reason. As we discovered, many practices were repeated throughout the whole area of our study. For example, the idea of the journey of the dead we could find from the Lapps to the Chukchee, and perhaps we should be tempted to speak of an archetype being repeated in much the same way over many thousands of miles. At the same time, each journey to the realm of the dead is a real event that takes place in space and time. All human existence that we know of takes place within some fixed bounds, within patterns. It would be difficult to imagine it otherwise. Yet, a human orientation that is shaped by a certain pattern or structure is not fixed once and for all by it. Something always happens that is not reducible to the archetype.

At this point we might recall the Evenk shaman who had to travel

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108) V. N. Chernetsov, "Concepts of the Soul among the Ob Ugrians," op. cit., *Studies in Siberian Shamanism*, p. 19.

to the clan mistress of the game in order to purchase the souls of the animals the hunters would need for the year. What interests us about the account of the mission is that the action goes on and on. The shaman reaches the mistress of the taiga, but that is not quite enough; he must go farther than that, to the mother of the universe. And even that does not suffice for the people, for no sooner than the shaman has returned to earth is he beseeched by all to return again, just in case there should not be enough game. The shaman goes once more to risk the most difficult moment of shamanism. If the journey of the shaman were only a demonstration of his personal experience or appropriation of the mythical reality known only indirectly by others, and if it were a question of the shaman being able to transcend time and space, we wonder why it is that such an exhibition should take the form of an epic adventure in which not just the shaman participates. Clearly, a whole religio-mythological structuring of the world is required as a precondition of shamanizing. However, this does not obliterate the temporal dimension, nor diminish the special actuality.

A theme that we ran across in a number of places was that of flight, or more generally, access to all levels of the cosmos. This mythological motif has built into it the nostalgia for the time when all things were possible for man, when free movement to all sections of the universe was part of everyday life. At the present time only a few can hope to do this; only a few can gain the great powers that once belonged to all. In this sense, it is possible to speak of the experiences of the shamans and heros as taking place in mythological time and space. Yet, when we look closely at the actual setting of a shamanistic performance we find it often difficult to separate the mythological dimensions from the profane ones. Our difficulties may arise from the fact that we do not really live in the same world as the peoples we have studied do. For them, places that we term mythological, are true geographical locations and any account of the world would have to include such places. That not everyone can travel to all the areas of the world does not make them any less real. A journey to the underworld or to the master of the tundra takes time, since much ground must be covered. So too, the shamanistic performance takes place over a considerable stretch of time, during which the shaman departs, goes to wherever it is that his mission requires, and returns again to his people.

The ability to fly above the world or to ascend to the upper world by means of the cosmic axis or world tree expresses a personal transcendence of the ordinary human condition. Interesting to us is the observation that what is apparently of primary importance is not the state of having reached the goal, but the activity of getting there. By most accounts, life in the upper worlds goes on in much the same way that it does down here below. The upper world people herd reindeer, hunt, fish, etc. Hence, there would be little reason to prefer one place over the other. What matters is the marvelous ability to get there. We might draw a parallel with our own situation. Now, we know that there is nothing particularly exciting about the surface of the moon. It is not made out of green cheese, nor is there any giant man-in-the-moon living on it. Yet, our governments spend billions just to shoot someone off in a space ship there. When the Soviet astronaut became the first man to enter space, he certainly did not find a great deal out there that would have been of much interest to the common man; not even God was there. Nonetheless, this trip into space was acclaimed throughout the world with an enthusiasm that was not without a religious dimension. The man had done something truly superhuman.

Coming back down to earth, we should remember that the reindeer peoples also include the spacial dimensions of the earth's surface in their religious orientation. The nomadic life makes consciousness of man's movement over large expanses of land a necessity. We have attempted to show a few of the ways this consciousness of the material conditions of life has been expressed religiously. With the people travel sacred reindeer. They drag about sacred sledges which are quite literally vehicles of the sacred. Throughout their territories are the sacred places where their sacrifices are held. Ceremonials mark the important times of year when seasons change and people migrate. All these things provide man with a religious orientation in life, however an orientation that is in keeping with his particular mode of existence.

In closing we should like to say a few words on the problem of interpretation. In our study of reindeer in the religious life of the reindeer breeders and hunters we adopted the position that to get at much of what is most genuinely the religious life of the people one must look first of all at the forms of material existence. In doing this we did not wish to introduce a form of materialistic reductionism.

To seek an explanation of religious practices and of a whole religious orientation in terms of the historical and material situation is not to sap human existence of religious meaning. Adopting the position we have, we found that the real "stuff" of religion among the peoples studied conformed to the sort of orientation their material life required. And there we found that just the fact of movement itself seemed to take on a religious dimension.

It should also be made clear that we have assumed a fairly relativistic position vis-à-vis the phenomena. When a man sitting astride a corpse on a sled being "driven" by reindeer twitching in the last agonies of death, declares that he has arrived in the land of the dead, we have taken him at his word. In the same way we have not viewed the shaman's journey as a "mystical itinerary", but as a very real trip to actual places. For the psychologist, questions about the reality of such experiences may have a legitimate place, but in the case of the historian of religions, he can hope to do justice to the phenomena qua religious phenomena only when he presupposes their reality.

Finally, the subject we chose to illustrate our ideas was not selected at random. The reindeer, as an animal which participates so much in the religious life of the peoples in question, seemed to us a rather pregnant case by which to make our point. Of course, reindeer do not exist the world over, nor do circumpolar nomads. We should certainly expect to find different forms of religious orientations in different parts of the world.

THE RED HEIFER:  
A BIBLICAL PURIFICATION RITE  
IN RABBINIC LITERATURE

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The nineteenth chapter of the book of Numbers deals with the Red Heifer (parah adumah; literally, red cow). Father de Vaux interprets this, with a high degree of probability, as a rite "of ancient origin . . . accepted by Yahwism" (*Ancient Israel*, New York, McGraw-Hill, 1961, p. 461). Verses 1 to 10 of the chapter discuss the preparation of a water of purification (mê niddah; literally, water of purification from sin). The rite involved the burning to ash of a Red Heifer by an assistant, possibly a layman, after slaughter in the sight of a priest and a ritual sprinkling of the Heifer's blood by "Eleazar the priest." The Heifer had to be without spot or blemish and never to have borne the yoke. The officiating priest became ritually unclean as a result of his part in the ceremony; so, too, did his assistant. A third person, again not specified as a priest, but only as one who was ritually clean, was then required to gather up the ashes of the Heifer and to store them in a place "outside the camp" (miḥutz lammaḥaneh). This participant was also rendered unclean by his action and required purification. This section (verses 1 to 10) concludes, without reference to the specific method of mixing the ashes of the Heifer with water or to the specific uses to which the water of purification was to be put, with the words: "and it shall be unto the children of Israel and unto the stranger that sojourneth among them, for a statute (ḥuk) for ever."

This chapter of Numbers continues by speaking of the ritual defilement of the man who touches a corpse. His uncleanness persists for seven days. On the third of these days, he is to be sprinkled with the water of purification; otherwise his impurity will not be removed

on the seventh day.<sup>1)</sup> A person who does not fulfil the injunction of sprinkling is to be excommunicated (“that soul shall be cut off from Israel”) because of his continued impurity (verses 11-13). A new theme enters with verse 14; now it is not only direct contact with a corpse that defiles, as it was in verse 11. When a death takes place in a tent, all the contents of the tent as well as every person who enters the tent is unclean for seven days. Verse 15 adds that every uncovered vessel becomes unclean. Verse 16 goes even farther: whoever touches a corpse in the out-of-doors, or a human bone, or even a grave is ritually impure for seven days.

Not until verse 17 do we find the directions for the preparation and use of the water of purification for those who are unclean. It is to be prepared by adding running water (literally, “living water.” i.e., water from a spring or a flowing stream, not from a pool) to a portion of the ashes of the Red Heifer in a vessel. A ritually clean person (verse 18) is to dip a sprig of hyssop into the mixture and sprinkle the tent in which the death took place, all its contents, and all the persons who had become defiled by contact or by mere presence in the tent. Verse 19 adds that the sprinkling is to take place twice, on the third day and again on the seventh day. The previously clean person who performs the sprinkling contracts a minor defilement by his part in the purification ceremony; verse 19 requires him to purify himself, to wash his clothes, and to bathe in water on the seventh day, and verse 21 orders that it shall be a perpetual statute (*huk*) “that he that sprinkleth the water of separation shall wash his clothes; and he that toucheth the water of separation shall be unclean until even” and (verse 22) that everything that he touches and anyone who touches anything that he has touched shall also be unclean until evening.

There is only one other biblical text that mentions the water of purification, Numbers XXXI, verse 23, which requires that the metallic spoils of war are to be first purified by fire and then purified by the water of purification, while other spoils, which could not withstand the fire, are merely to be passed through the water of purification.

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1) The recent Jewish Publication Society of America translation (1962) translates verse 12 to require two sprinklings, on the third, and again on the seventh day; this assimilates verse 12 to verse 19. The Hebrew text as it stands does not support this translation, but it is not an unreasonable emendation.

Verse 19 of this chapter parallels in other respects the account of ritual impurity contracted by contact with a corpse in Chapter XIX but does not refer specifically to the water of purification. Indeed, as De Vaux points out, the other biblical texts that refer to ritual uncleanness contracted by contact with a corpse do not mention the water of purification, while "the ancient texts which describe funeral rites do not remotely suggest that contact with a corpse brings on defilement (cf. especially Gn 46:4; 50:1)." Clearly there are many puzzling elements in the biblical regulations that I have just summarized and many points that might be illuminated by a comparative study of corpse-defilement in other cultures. Here is a rite which reveals, on its very surface, an ancient and magical character but that does not seem to have been significantly part of the popular religion of the Hebrews. Nevertheless, in relatively late priestly law, it has been taken up into the framework of the official cult. The Purification by means of the Red Heifer is a fascinating puzzle for the historian of religion.

My primary purpose in this paper is not, however, to examine the biblical account in detail, but rather to look briefly at the rabbinic discussions in which the Red Heifer is mentioned and to suggest some explanation for the frequency with which the Red Heifer comes into rabbinic literature. First, however, I must remind you that since priestly participation is requisite for the proper preparation of the ashes and of the water of purification, after the second destruction of the Temple in A. D. 70, and the consequent end to all priestly rituals, there would have been no further opportunity to prepare the ashes or the mixture. Conceivably there was a stock of ash on hand; if, however, the purification were to have been faithfully carried out whenever there was contact with a corpse, no stock on hand, however large, could possibly have lasted beyond, say, half a century. Soon after A. D. 100, therefore, we must acknowledge that this ritual of purification had ceased to be practiced (if, indeed, it was ever widely practiced) and that discussion of its requirements was, accordingly, otiose.

Nevertheless, in the Mishnah, and also in the Tosefta, an entire tractate, called Parah, of the order Taharoth, is devoted to a minute examination of the traditional regulations for the preparation of the water of purification from the ashes of the Red Heifer. Tractate



Parah of the Mishnah adds significantly to our information about the purification rites connected with the Red Heifer. The details presented here go far beyond those of Numbers XIX, and we must assume the basic accuracy of the Mishnaic materials in reporting religious practices in the later part of the Second Commonwealth period, since the Mishnah preserves traditions that were either still live or had only recently become defunct. One of the important pieces of information that we can glean from this tractate is that even according to rabbinic tradition the rite of preparing the Red Heifer was of rare occurrence, having been enacted only a total of nine (perhaps only seven) times. We read: "And who prepared them? Moses prepared the first, and Ezra prepared the second, and five [were prepared] after Ezra, [according to] the view of R. Meir; but the Sages say, Seven [were prepared] after Ezra. And who prepared them [after Ezra]? Simon the Just and Jochanan the High Priest prepared two each, and Eliehonai ben Hakkof and Chanameel the Egyptian and Ishmael ben Piabi prepared one each" (Mishnah Parah, iii, 5, as translated by Philip Blackman). Another piece of information that we get from this tractate is that, although the biblical description requires only one priest and apparently allows much of the ritual to be aided by laymen, the Mishnah says explicitly that "[all] the acts connected with it [must be performed] by day and by a priest" (Mishnah Parah, iv, 4). These examples make it clear that tractate Parah records decisions and traditions with respect to the practices with which it is concerned that grew up during the period after the biblical text had been set down.

Tractate Parah is carried over intact into the Babylonian Talmud but its text is not supplemented by any discussion by the later rabbis (Amoraim). The absence of any Amoraic discussion further justifies the inference that during the period from the beginning of the second century, when the Mishnah was completed, to the beginning of the fifth century, when the Babylonian Talmud was set down, the Red Heifer purification rite was not practiced and, as a consequence, there were no cases involving its rules that arose for judicial decision. The Palestinian, or so-called Jerusalem Talmud does not even reproduce the text of Mishnah Parah, which further strengthens the inference that the rite of the Red Heifer had fallen into disuse. Although there is no additional discussion (*gemara*) attached to the tractate Parah, there are no fewer than eighty passages scattered through the Baby-

lonian Talmud in which the rabbis incorporate references to the Red Heifer in the course of discussions of other subjects. That is to say, in spite of the Mishnaic record of the rarity with which the preparatory actions connected with the Red Heifer rite were taken, in spite of the fact that the purification itself was no longer in use, and, one might add, in spite of the fact that it seems, from the singularity of its occurrence in the biblical record to have been a not-very-important purificatory ritual, the matter of the Red Heifer remained so close to the surface of the thought of the Amoraic rabbis that it was constantly cropping up in their discussions.

The occurrence of talmudic references to the matter of the Red Heifer is not limited to any single type of subject. It arises in most varied contexts. Thus, in one passage, the segregation of the officiating priest for a week prior to his part in the rite of the Red Heifer is compared to the separation of the High Priest for a week prior to the Day of Atonement (*Yoma* 2a). Elsewhere in the same tractate the question is raised whether, if the water of purification is accidentally sprinkled on someone who is ritually clean, it renders him unclean (*Yoma* 14a). It is apparent from the text here that the great Rabbi Akiba, a Tanna of the first to second century, had maintained that sprinkling with the prepared water of purification had a purifying effect only upon the unclean, while upon those who were ritually clean it had an opposite effect, whereas the general opinion of the sages was that such an accidental sprinkling did not defile the ritually clean. Another disputed point raised in the same tractate questions whether a layman may have any part in the ritual preparation of the Red Heifer (*Yoma* 42a-b). Another question, raised in several places in the Babylonian Talmud, concerns the use of a cord to tie up the Red Heifer or to lead it out of the city for the preparatory rites. Here the requirement of the scriptural account must be recalled; the Red Heifer was unfit if it had borne a yoke. The rabbis interpreted "yoke" as equivalent to any burden, and they realized that a leading cord was a yoke in this extended sense. An interesting context in which discussion of this point is to be found is in regard to the query to what degree the law of sabbath rest is to be considered in reference to the nose rings, chains, and halters of various domestic animals. Are these to be considered burdens, and hence violative of the sabbath law? (*Shabbat* 51b-52a). Still another question that is raised concerns the

propriety of sprinkling with the water of purification on the Sabbath, should it happen that this coincided with the third or the seventh day of defilement. The suggested answer is that sprinkling on the Sabbath is only rabbinically prohibited, not biblically, and that, therefore, the prohibition is not categorical (*Erubin* 67b-68a). But enough of examples.

Now, one suggestion that has been made to account for the frequency of talmudic references to the obsolete practices connected with the Red Heifer is that these were often used in illustration of points that were being made precisely because the whole complex was obsolete; that is to say, it was, in lawyers' terms, moot. Instruction in the interpretation of law could be given by raising questions of principle and then illustrating them by reference to the Red Heifer or similar moot matters. The Masters could teach both the legal principle and the methods of hermeneutics without running the risk of misleading the student auditors in a matter of practice. This suggestion is an attractive one for those who are not only rationalists themselves, but also like to think of their ancestors as dominated by rationalistic motivations. To accept it requires, however, that the Talmud be thought of not as a collection of legal interpretations and precedents but as the record of seminars held in a law school, perhaps even as a compilation of student notebooks over a number of generations. This rationalizing view can no longer be maintained; the Talmud is the record, rather, of the attempts of precedent-conscious legists to preserve the wisdom of their predecessors for later use in judicial decision.

A second explanation, favored by more traditionally-minded persons, emphasizes the regard that the compilers of the Talmud, as the religious leaders of the Jewish people, maintained for their national past. So central to their piety was this retrospective view that they attempted to preserve every jot and tittle of tradition regarding the Temple rites and the priesthood long after these features of earlier Hebrew religion had disappeared. This, too, is a most attractive explanation, although it seems to me less satisfactory in explaining the talmudic references to the Red Heifer rites than in accounting for the preservation in *Mishnah Parah* of the many detailed conditions for the proper performance of these rites. To my mind, it is the eighty or so almost casual intrusions of the Red Heifer theme into Amoraic discussions that requires further explanation. *Mishnah Parah* itself, as I

pointed out earlier, was not supplemented by the Amoraim; if their concern had been to compile every tradition, surely there would have been further discussion of Mishnah Parah, incorporating material from the Tosefta and from independent, uncollected legal sayings.

More recently, a conservative interpretation has been proposed that ties the constantly recurring rabbinic references to the rite of the Red Heifer to the eschatological theme in Judaism. Central to Jewish eschatology is the belief that the coming of the Messiah will be prologue not only to the gathering of the scattered children of Israel from the four corners of the earth into the Promised Land, but also to the rebuilding of the Temple and the restoration of its sacrificial rites under the Aaronic priesthood. It is suggested that as a manifestation of the vitality of this belief in the thinking of the rabbis we find them preoccupied with the priestly duties in connection with the slaughtering of the Red Heifer and the preparation of the water of purification. With this explanation we seem to be moving on to more solid ground; for we live in an age that is most sympathetic to eschatological explanations of the data of the history of religions. In spite of this tendency of our age, I feel that the same criticisms that militate against the traditionalist explanation hold against the eschatological as well. If Mishnah Parah had been discussed and commented upon by the Amoraim, the eschatological explanation would be more satisfactory, but neither this nor the traditionalist explanation accounts for precisely the datum that it is called upon to explain, the constant cropping up of the Red Heifer theme in all sorts of contexts throughout the Talmud.

Because none of these current explanations seems to me completely adequate, although each has some value, I should like to suggest here, very tentatively, a fourth explanation. Often, in studying rabbinic materials, I find that the Talmud, because it deals formally with legal materials, fails to suggest what was really on the rabbis' minds. In such cases I find it helpful to see whether there is enlightenment in the Midrash which may, because of its less formal character, be more revealing. An exploration of the passages of the Midrash Rabbah that refer to the Red Heifer suggests that the rabbis kept on recurring to the Red Heifer theme because it was a perennial puzzle, and not primarily for any of the reasons I have summarily presented above. The central feature of the Red Heifer purification rites, as we have seen, is that the ashes of the Heifer constituted a purification from

defilement contracted by contact with a corpse, and yet the ashes themselves and anything connected with them were also defiling. The rabbis were fascinated by the logical problem how that which was in itself unclean could purify. In all piety, they could not do otherwise than to conclude that a divine decree is to be maintained and observed even though no reason for its enactment could be discovered; in all humanity, however, they could not rest content with this answer of piety but kept on searching for reason.

At the very beginning of the Midrash Rabbah to chapter XIX of Numbers (the Red Heifer chapter) the intellectual puzzle is presented. We find "THIS IS THE STATUTE OF (Numbers XIX, 2). It bears on the text, *Who can bring a clean thing out of an unclean? is it not One* (Job XIV, 4) . . . We have learned elsewhere: The persons engaged in any part of the preparation of the Red Heifer from beginning to end defile garments, while the Heifer itself makes garments ritually clean. The Holy One, blessed be He, says: 'I have laid down a statute; I have issued a decree! You cannot transgress My decree.'" (Numbers Rabbah, XIX, 1). Here the Rabbis resort to the assertion that wherever the word "ḥuḳ" appears in connection with a biblical ordinance, the term refers to a command that requires implicit obedience even without comprehension of its reason.

Even when, as in the Red Heifer material, the decree is paradoxical, rather than merely unintelligible, it is to be obeyed. In Numbers Rabbah XIX, 4, there is an incomplete version of an account that is given in fuller form in Ecclesiastes Rabbah VIII, 1, #5; I quote the fuller version: "R. Mana of Shaab in Galilee said in the name of R. Joshua b. Levi: In connection with every law which the Holy One, blessed be He, communicated to Moses, He expounded to him its uncleanness and purification; but when he reached the chapter, *Speak unto the priests* (Leviticus XXI), he [Moses] spoke before Him, 'Lord of the universe, if these [the priests] are defiled wherewith do they regain their state of purity?' He gave no answer, and at that time the face of Moses changed." That is, as we would say idiomatically, Moses' face fell; he was crestfallen at the thought that he was not worthy to be answered. "When, however, He reached the chapter of the Red Heifer, the Holy One, blessed be He, said to Moses, 'Moses, when I made to you the statement "*Speak unto the priests*," and you asked Me, "If they are defiled wherewith do they regain their state of

purity?" I gave you no answer. This is their method of purification, *And for the unclean they shall take of the ashes of the burning of the purification from sin* (Numbers XIX, 17).' He [Moses] spoke before Him, 'Lord of the universe, is this purification?' " That is to say, Moses asked of the Lord the very question that kept puzzling the rabbis through the generations, how can ashes, themselves defiling, remove the defilement caused by contact with the dead? And "The Holy One, blessed be He, replied, "Moses, it is a statute, and I have made a decree, and nobody can fathom my decree.' "

In the rabbinical view, only one biblical personage could conceivably have understood what Moses did not understand, and that was the wisest of all mortals, King Solomon. And it is reported in Ecclesiastes Rabbah (VII, 23, #4) that Solomon himself said: "Concerning all these [ordinances of the Torah] I have stood and investigated [their meaning], but the chapter of the Red Heifer I have been unable to fathom. When I laboured therein and searched deeply into it, I SAID: I WILL GET WISDOM; BUT IT WAS FAR FROM ME." What a challenge to human ingenuity such a chapter posed! What normal human being could resist the temptation to try to understand and to explain satisfactorily a divine decree that had proved opaque even to such as Moses and Solomon? Even, for the rabbis were not free from human foibles, consider the glory and honor that would accrue to the one who succeeded. "R. Aḥa in the name of R. Ḥanina said: When Moses ascended into heaven [to receive the Torah] he heard the voice of the Holy One, blessed be He, as He sat studying the section dealing with the Red Heifer, and quoting the law in the name of its author; thus: R. Eliezer says: The brokennecked Calf must be a year old while the Red Heifer must be two years old" (Numbers Rabbah, XIX, 7). Here surely is the very acme of success, to have one's authority in the law cited by the Revealer of the law.

I suggest, then, that the recurrent references to the Red Heifer in the rabbinical literature should be understood in terms of the endless capacity of the human mind to be fascinated with the insoluble problem; in a word, that the Red Heifer theme played the part in the rabbinic mind that squaring the circle played for the classical mathematician or the perpetual motion machine for the early modern inventor.

*New York, N.Y., U.S.A.*

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# RELIGIOLOGY 1)

BY

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## THE SCOPE OF RELIGIOLOGY

### 1) *Scientific Study of Religion*

Religiology 2) is a branch of science and its aim is the scientific study of religion. It seeks to acquire a basic knowledge of religion as a phase of culture, without the bias of a specific belief-system. Only the scientific study of religion can achieve this aim.

But can religion be studied scientifically at all? Is religion not a phenomenon bound up with emotional associations and considered the most cherished and intimate of experiences? Do not religion and science essentially conflict with each other?

Such questions are often raised against the possibility of a science of religion, and tend to restrict its development. Yet in spite of the objections, some have not only believed that a scientific study of religion is possible, but have created religiology, and begun the process of analysis.

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1) This short article is the first chapter of an unpublished translation of the late Professor Kishimoto's book on Religiology, published in Japanese and used in Japan as a textbook. The contents of the book is the following: Translator's Note I-IV. 1) The Scope of Religiology 1. 2) Definition of Religion 11. 3) Basic Structure and Function of Religion 13. 4) Religion and Personality 34. 5) Form of Religious Behavior 47. 6) Formation of the Belief System 63. 7) Varieties of Religious Thought 74. 8) Religion in Society 102. Conclusions 125. Bibliography 135. In view of the prominence of Kishimoto in IAHR we have much pleasure in publishing the introductory chapter of his book (The Editor).

2) (Jap. *Shukyogaku*. The author proposes to coin the word "Religiology". However, we will also translate the term as "science of religion" according to the content.—Trans.)

The European term closest to *shukyogaku* is the German *Religionswissenschaft*. "Science of religion" was used in English earlier, but has given way to the older word "comparative religion."

This book must begin by meeting these questions, and clarifying what a "scientific" study of religion means. What, for example, is its object? What methods does it adopt? What meaning does it have for human experience? These are the points to be considered.

The word "science" in the phrase we have used refers to the "humanistic sciences,"<sup>3)</sup> and not the natural sciences. The latter takes as its object of study natural phenomena devoid of human values. Humanistic science, in studying cultural phenomena, includes human values.

Here, then, is the difference between natural and humanistic science, and religiology exists as a branch of the latter. Hence its object is religion as a cultural phenomenon and as observable human behavior.

That religiology takes a scientific position means that it studies religion empirically and that it is a sub-field of the experimental humanistic sciences. Religiology deals with publicly available<sup>4)</sup> objects and from a value-neutral viewpoint. Such objects are empirically observable by any student. Metaphysical perspectives, where issues transcend empirical observation, are excluded from the direct treatment of religiology. For example, such questions as whether an immaterial divinity exists in the world beyond human experience do not come into the area of religiology.

But this does not mean that metaphysical religious thought and questions of doctrine are always out of bounds. They enter into the research area of religiology indirectly, in so far as they make their appearance in human behavior. Metaphysical questions are human and behavioral questions in as much as their author is man himself.

The issue of whether an immaterial divinity exists and the question of man's speculation *about* such existence are matters of a completely different nature. It is vitally important to recognize the difference between them. What a person as a *subject* thinks concerning the existence of God is nothing but human behavior, and may be studied as such. Thus, religiology is able to introduce metaphysical thinking

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3) (*Jimbunkagaku*) *Jimbunkagaku* is commonly used to indicate the "humanities," and may include philosophy and literature, which are strictly excluded from scientific studies. In this book we use the term to mean the scientific study of human phenomena. The English counterpart is "behavioral science."

4) (Kokaisei.)

as human behavior into its area of study without going into the meta-physical questions themselves.

A similar discussion could apply to "religious experience," <sup>5)</sup> which is a direct value experience for the person involved. Appreciation of the experience is something intimate and personal, and unavailable to an observer. Yet religious experience is still human behavior, and as such comes into the area of religiology. Methodological questions—whether biographical, <sup>6)</sup> questionnaire, <sup>7)</sup> or observation <sup>8)</sup> methods are applied—remain as *practical* problems of investigating the phenomenon. In this sense, it is possible to carry on the psychological research of religious experience.

## 2) Area of Religiology

There are two standpoints in the study of religion, markedly different in their objective and method of study.

The first is the standpoint of faith. It is the study which inquires into the religion one *ought* to accept, and approaches the meaning of religion from a personal perspective. It is the subjective study of religion.

The second is the study of religion from an objective standpoint. Here religion is studied empirically, in individual and social behavior, regarding these as cultural phenomena. Its approach is value-neutral.

Joachim Wach (1898-1955) <sup>9)</sup> distinguishes these two and calls the former "normative" and the latter "descriptive" studies. Religiology clearly belongs to the latter category.

Subjective and objective studies may each be sub-divided into various fields of religious research. Theology, philosophy of religion, history of religion, and religiology stand in the relation shown in chart 1. <sup>10)</sup>

5) Cf. George A. Coe, *The Psychology of Religion*, 1916

6) Cf. William James, *The Varieties of Religious Experience*, 1902.

Shinjo Takenaka, *Shukyoshinri no Kenkyu* (Study of Religious Psychology), 1957.

7) Cf. E. C. Starbuck, *The Psychology of Religion*, 1899.

8) Cf. Leon Festinger, *When Prophecy Fails*, 1956.

9) Former Professor of the History of Religions at Brown and Univ. of Chicago.

10) Joachim Wach, *Sociology of Religion*, p.1.

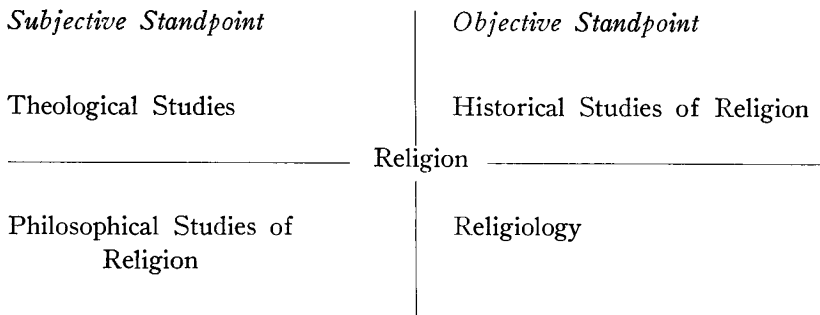


Chart 1.

Theological and philosophical studies both belong to the subjective standpoint. Of these theology is based on the standpoint of faith. It accepts without condition the given premises of a particular religion and always works from within the framework of the presuppositions of that religion. Philosophy of religion includes a wider area. It constitutes the study of religion based on reason. Here, theology is criticized if reason is unconvinced. Yet here again the aim is to clarify the essence of religion and investigate the meaning of religion for rational thought. In this sense, the philosophical position also belongs to the subjective standpoint.

History of religion and religiology constitute the scientific study of religion.<sup>11)</sup> Systematic studies, like religiology and history of religion, differ in the method of dealing with their object. So far, these two are clearly different fields of study.

However, in recent years, the difference between them has become extremely narrow. The distinction that historical research studies phenomena which occurred in the past and systematic studies deal with the present has become almost meaningless as a means of differentiating the two. They have a common object of study. The real difference is that the historical study of religion treats the objects as unique phenomena, regarding them *einmalig* and idiographically.

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11) Theology traditionally is subdivided into systematic, historical, and practical theology. Historical theology belongs to the general "historical" study of religion, but with the condition of the acceptance of the particular faith involved. A clear difference must be noted between the subjective and objective study of history.

Religiology, however, regards them as manifestations of typical phenomena and approaches its materials nomothetically. This is the only difference. They cannot but benefit each other.

Religiology occupies such a standpoint among the various fields of religious study. Yet when we consider what has actually been meant by "science of religion" we meet various usages. Most widely, it indicates the whole of religious studies as shown in chart 2-A. Sometimes all the critical studies, excluding theology, which is based on faith, are collectively called religiology. Then it includes philosophical, historical, and scientific studies, as in chart 2-B. Again, sometimes only the objective study of religion is meant by religiology. And finally, the strictest usage of the term indicates a solely scientific and systematic study. In this meaning religiology deserves its name. It is shown in chart 2-D. This book applies the last usage of the term.

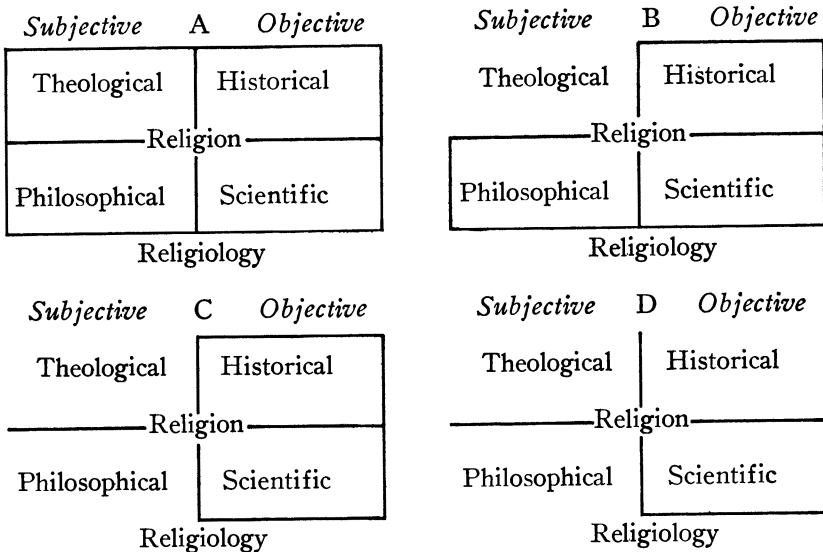


Chart 2.

### 3) *A Foundational Science*

Generally speaking, religion is something one believes in, and the public is apt to think only of the standpoint of faith when it hears of studies of religion. It is often quite unaware of the disciplines which approach religion scientifically. But as we have made it clear, there does exist a scientific study of religion which corresponds to the

religious phenomena observable in human life—phenomena which directly or indirectly become its object. Religiology includes religious experience, thought, behavior, doctrine, and organizations.

What practical purposes, then, does religiology have, and why should its researches be undertaken?

Briefly stated, the relation between religiology and religion is similar to that between medical science and the practice of medicine. Medical science does not deal directly with the healing of patients, but it contributes to the foundations of practical medicine. Neither does religiology directly resolve human difficulties and sufferings. Scientists of religion are not “religionists.” But it is religiology which collects all the verifiable knowledge and materials concerning religion, and that classifies and organizes them. For one who is involved with the questions of religion and who wants to re-examine his faith from a wider angle it is necessary to seek out a foundational knowledge, suppliable only from religiological sources. Further, religiology plays an academic role as a branch of the humanistic sciences. If the latter is to investigate cultural phenomena systematically, an understanding of religious phenomena is indispensable. Thus, religiology can be understood as a foundational science.

# RELIGIONS TRADITIONNELLES ET CULTURES MODERNES

*Rapports et perspective d'étude* <sup>1)</sup>

PAR

JEAN FILLIOZAT

Dans la mesure où les traditions religieuses traitent de l'organisation de la nature et font à l'homme des obligations particulières de conduite elles peuvent entrer en conflit, d'une part avec des cosmologies nouvelles élaborées par le progrès de la connaissance naturelle, d'autre part avec les besoins d'activités nouvelles apparaissant dans les sociétés.

Cette situation n'est pas créée aujourd'hui pour la première fois par l'actuel essor accéléré des découvertes scientifiques et des réalisations techniques et par les transformations des sociétés qu'entraîne le développement de l'économie industrielle.

C'est une situation banale dans l'histoire.

A titre d'exemples de conflits entre religions traditionnelles et nouveautés scientifiques il suffit d'évoquer le procès de Galilée et les querelles du transformisme. Quant aux conflits entre les règles religieuses gouvernant traditionnellement la société et les tendances évolutives de cette même société, ils sont surtout manifestes dans le domaine de la sexualité mais ne sont pas de fraîche date : contrôle des naissances, célibat des prêtres, divorce etc. ... A chaque changement l'ordre habituel établi, qu'il soit religieux ou non — et il est loin d'être toujours religieux — oppose une résistance.

Les conflits qui en résultent peuvent, sur le moment, être passionnés et violents, mais on doit observer qu'à la fin ils se résolvent, et souvent au bénéfice commun des antagonistes. La science a gain de cause si sa découverte finit par se confirmer, et la religion se débarrasse d'une superstition qui s'avère ne pas réellement appartenir à son fonds. Il y a bien des textes sacrés qui, faisant allusion à l'organisation de la nature, ont sur elle des assertions littéralement incompatibles avec les constatations scientifiques successives des temps plus récents. Certains croyants se croient alors obligés d'admettre que la science humaine, qui est imparfaite encore de l'aveu universel, se trompe et que, par

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<sup>1)</sup> Conférence donnée au congrès de l'I.A.H.R. à Claremont août 1965.

exemple, la Bible ou les *Purāṇa* avaient raison. Pour se fortifier dans leur conviction ils insistent sur celles des assertions de ces textes qui sont, elles, en accord avec les données scientifiques. D'autres soutiennent que le langage des textes sacrés n'est pas à prendre littéralement dans son acception apparente, mais doit être interprété symboliquement. Ils s'efforcent dès lors d'en présenter une interprétation conciliable avec l'enseignement scientifique. Ils peuvent surtout, sans prendre tant de peine, soutenir que la parole divine telle qu'elle est dans des textes révélés à l'usage des hommes était adaptée à leur faculté de compréhension au moment de la révélation, c'est à dire à leurs connaissances naturelles si imparfaites qu'elles aient pu être alors. La vérité religieuse, qui est d'ordre théologique et métaphysique, aurait été révélée telle quelle dans sa teneur absolue, mais les assertions relatives à la nature auraient été conformes, non au réel d'ordre physique sans portée religieuse, mais aux opinions provisoires en vogue. La foi, dans son domaine surnaturel, reste hors de portée de toute contradiction suscitée contre elle dans le domaine naturel, et, réciproquement, elle peut tolérer tout changement et tout progrès dans la connaissance de ce domaine naturel. La métaphysique, de son côté, peut toujours récuser comme partielle et même aveugle, la négation de sa légitimité par des „scientistes” car ceux-ci ne s'aperçoivent pas qu'en prenant parti de principe contre toute métaphysique, ils font une option déjà métaphysique.

De toute façon, les conflits entre foi surnaturelle et connaissance naturelle sont des conflits frontaliers. Ils n'ont lieu que lorsque les adversaires sont dans la confusion au sujet de leurs domaines respectifs. C'est du moins quand ils ont le sentiment d'une nette délimitation entre leur religion et leur science que bien des savants gardent simultanément, sans avoir l'impression d'une contradiction interne dans leur esprit, une foi fondamentale traditionnelle et une conviction totale dans la validité de la science moderne et de ses applications techniques. Et c'est pourquoi, en fait, la diffusion scientifique universelle ruine les opinions traditionnelles associées aux traditions religieuses, mais non pas les religions elles-mêmes, ou ne ruine celles-ci que dans la mesure où il y a chez leurs adeptes confusion entre les principes religieux de base et les vues cosmologiques accessoires qu'ils ne savent pas dissocier parce qu'ils les reçoivent les uns et les autres par tradition.

On ne s'étonnera donc pas, dans les pays d'Asie qui possèdent de



grandes traditions religieuses et culturelles générales, notamment dans l'Inde, de trouver à la fois et chez les mêmes personnes un profond attachement aux religions traditionnelles et une adoption résolue des cultures modernes, particulièrement scientifiques.

La variété des attitudes personnelles, dans un pays aussi vaste et aussi diversement peuplé que l'Inde, est nécessairement très grande. Entre ceux qui restent exclusivement attachés à leurs opinions et à leurs coutumes ancestrales et ceux qui les rejettent complètement, se place la majorité du peuple où sont représentés tous les degrés de transition entre les tendances anciennes et les modernes.

L'opinion est toujours répandue en Occident, du moins en dehors des cercles des indologues, que l'Inde est immuable. Parce qu'elle révère des textes sacrés très anciens, et dont elle exagère d'ailleurs volontiers l'antiquité, on croit facilement qu'elle n'a jamais varié et qu'elle doit rester au nom de la religion réfractaire à toute innovation, qu'elle ne peut évoluer sans avoir répudié d'abord ses traditions religieuses. Lorsque, cependant, on est au courant de son activité présente de modernisation, on suppose soit que cette modernisation n'est qu'apparente, qu'elle est plus artificielle et officielle que profonde et soutenue par l'aspiration populaire, soit qu'elle est uniquement le fait de couches libérées des contraintes religieuses. Au premier rang de ces dernières on place le fameux système des castes, aboli en droit par la Constitution mais dont on souligne la persistance de fait dans la société. Aussi les penseurs politiques d'esprit colonialiste ou communiste se trouvent-ils généralement d'accord pour voir dans l'hindouisme un obstacle à l'évolution sociale et économique de l'Inde. Les premiers pensent qu'elle aurait dû abandonner sa culture et s'angliciser comme l'avaient rêvé Macaulay et William Bentinck en 1835. Pour les autres hors du marxisme il n'est point de salut.

Mais la situation réelle n'est pas telle qu'on se la représente communément. Dans le tableau schématique ordinaire, il y a bien des éléments justes mais l'interprétation n'est pas en accord avec tous les faits. La confusion règne dans les esprits, même chez beaucoup d'Indiens aussi bien que chez les observateurs étrangers, entre ce qui relève de la religion proprement dite et ce qui ne tient qu'à des croyances et usages concomitants et secondaires.

Pour mieux apprécier l'état véritable des choses et des sentiments, il faut donc en pousser plus avant l'étude.

Les nombreux ouvrages publiés en anglais, surtout dans l'Inde et par des philosophes ou des religieux indiens, ouvrages qui ont pour objet de définir et d'expliquer les traits fondamentaux de l'hindouisme en tant que religion majoritaire de l'Inde, peuvent être d'un grand secours pour cette étude. Ils ont toutefois trop souvent le désavantage d'être conçus pour en donner une idée qui, tout en étant fidèle, soit de nature à faire apprécier l'hindouisme par les Occidentaux. Ils insistent sur les points de concordance entre les données des anciens textes hindous et les idées religieuses, philosophiques ou morales de l'Occident et ont tendance à laisser de côté les autres. Ils exposent les conceptions hindouistes moins dans leur environnement culturel spécifique qu'à l'usage de l'étranger. A l'extrême, on rencontre les écrits des auteurs naïfs qui veulent retrouver préfigurées dans les anciens textes traditionnels les données de la science moderne, mais n'y savent déceler que celles de leur temps dans la mesure où ils les connaissent et non pas les vérités définitives que leur tradition selon eux contiendrait. Ces écrits là ne sont d'aucune utilité, si ce n'est qu'ils attestent l'existence et l'activité d'un milieu qui, loin de répudier les cultures modernes, prétend les annexer, sans toutefois s'en servir, mais pour revendiquer la priorité de leur possession.

Les résultats scientifiques de l'indologie classique, quelque fondamentaux qu'ils soient, ne sont pas encore propres à eux seuls à servir de points de départ à l'étude du problème de contact entre les religions traditionnelles de l'Inde et les cultures modernes qu'elle adopte aujourd'hui.

En effet, alors qu'au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, les relations devenues fréquentes et prolongées entre l'Inde et des observateurs européens attentifs avaient incité ceux-ci à décrire les religions du pays telles qu'ils les voyaient pratiquer autour d'eux, l'organisation de la science indologique, depuis la fin du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, a tendu à faire porter plutôt l'investigation sur les textes anciens et les formes originelles des religions.

Il était naturel et nécessaire qu'il en fût ainsi. Non seulement l'attrait des origines, des états primitifs, incline à l'étude des passés les plus reculés, mais encore, et surtout, celle des livres sacrés que les savants indiens indiquaient eux-mêmes comme les sources vénérées de leurs croyances s'imposait la première. Pour connaître le christianisme on étudie la Bible et les Evangiles avant les Eglises et les confréries tar-

dives. Ce n'est pas que les indianistes aient tout à fait négligé les religions indiennes modernes. L'ouvrage remarquable de Horace Hayman Wilson *Sketch of the Religious sects of the Hindus*, paru d'abord en 1828 et 1832 dans les *Asiatic Researches* atteste l'intérêt qu'il y portait. Mais lui-même a traduit le *Ṛgveda* et le *Viṣṇupurāṇa*. Il fallait bien commencer par les sources avant de suivre les dérivations. Mais la tâche de Wilson sur les sectes n'a été reprise que très tard et c'est seulement de nos jours que paraissent des monographies étendues de certaines d'entre elles. D'ailleurs l'étude des sectes ne concerne que des groupes souvent nombreux mais locaux ou particuliers et, fût-elle complète pour les sectes actuelles, elle ne donnerait pas un tableau de l'hindouisme général d'aujourd'hui. Celui-ci reste encore mieux représenté, dans son courant majeur, par les textes communs à un grand nombre de groupes variés, comme, par exemple, la *Bhagavadgītā* ou la *Manusmṛti*. Mais de pareils textes ne peuvent pas, si grande que soit leur autorité, manifester seuls la psychologie présente de ceux qui les vénèrent, pas plus que la Bible ne révèle celle des peuples actuels dont elle est toujours le „Livre”.

La confrontation des sources anciennes des traditions religieuses avec les cultures modernes est anachronique : elle n'est pas valable. Celle qui s'impose est celle d'une part de la culture présente totale des possesseurs de traditions religieuses — et non pas seulement de l'élément religieux de leur culture — d'autre part de la culture moderne telle que les mêmes possesseurs de traditions peuvent la voir — et non pas telle que la connaît l'enquêteur. En effet, le contact des religions traditionnelles avec les cultures modernes ne peut consister réellement qu'en un contact intérieur au sujet entre ses propres représentations des unes et des autres. C'est donc la psychologie particulière au groupe humain étudié qu'il faut connaître en ses éléments, non pas simplement les sources anciennes ou modernes où elle peut puiser.

L'enquête sociologique la plus complète est par conséquent indispensable. Mais la sociologie n'est pas encore prête à exploiter tout le domaine où elle doit s'appliquer. Elle s'y efforce vaillamment et fructueusement, mais elle est tirée entre deux tendances également légitimes et malheureusement encore difficiles, au stade actuel de la recherche, à concilier dans des résultats communs.

D'une part, la sociologie descriptive, proche de l'ethnographie en tant que science d'observation, doit spécialiser ses enquêtes, d'où la

multiplication des sociologies selon les ordres de faits qu'elles ont en vue. Elles sont économique, politique, juridique, culturelle, religieuse, urbaine, rurale, industrielle ... pour ne citer qu'au hasard et parmi les plus individualisées. Mais chaque société est un tout dont les éléments sont par nature associés et interdépendants, et les sociétés sont innombrables et fort inégalement connues. Vaines seraient les généralisations de résultats sur des éléments artificiellement dissociés par les nécessités de l'étude et quand l'étude n'a encore pu porter que sur un petit nombre de sociétés. Il ne s'ensuit pas que les enquêtes systématiques en question soient vaines elles aussi. Bien au contraire : elles recueillent des données de base indispensables et doivent se multiplier et s'approfondir sans cesse. D'ailleurs l'inconvénient des spécialisations de recherches sur éléments artificiellement dissociés est mineur quand le sociologue opère dans sa propre société qu'il connaît en sa totalité puisqu'il en fait partie. Quand il tourne son attention sur un ordre de faits sociaux pour une enquête particulière, leur environnement global lui reste présent et il peut interpréter correctement ces faits en fonction du milieu unitaire dont ils ne se détachent pas. Il en va tout autrement quand il opère dans une société qui lui est étrangère non seulement par la nationalité mais encore et surtout par l'éducation. Même s'il fait nationalement partie du pays où il mène ses enquêtes, en dépit des facilités que lui donnera la pratique du langage local pour interroger les informateurs, il aura peine à replacer dans le complexe où ils prennent leur valeur réelle ses résultats d'enquêtes spécialisées, s'il est étranger au milieu étudié. C'est assez souvent le cas dans une nation comme l'Inde où les milieux divers sont souvent des isolats peu accessibles à la pénétration extérieure directe.

D'autre part, une sociologie générale cherche naturellement depuis longtemps à se constituer. Elle sait qu'elle ne peut être que provisoire tant qu'elle ne possède que des données incomplètes sur la plupart des sociétés. Les sciences physiques et biologiques sont plus avancées parce que l'inventaire des matières, espèces et phénomènes naturels a été entrepris depuis longtemps, mais l'inventaire des faits humains a été retardé presque jusqu'à nos jours par la prédominance donnée aux valeurs classiques dans l'étude de l'homme. Les cultures littéraires et religieuses nationales, que ce soit en Europe, en Inde ou en Chine, ont voulu légitimement s'approfondir et se développer elles-mêmes mais elles ont ignoré ou déprécié les autres. Elles maintenaient les

esprits dans leur idéal de l'Homme et ne les orientaient pas vers la connaissance objective de tous les hommes en toutes leurs activités brillantes ou obscures.

Au milieu du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, avec Joseph Deguignes, le sinologue historien des Huns et des Tartares, l'importance de tous les peuples pour la connaissance générale de l'homme a été définitivement établie mais non pas universellement reconnue et il a fallu attendre longtemps encore pour que la sociologie démontre la valeur et la nécessité de cette connaissance. Quand enfin elle l'a fait, elle a d'abord tenté de reconnaître chez les groupes humains les plus frustes les formes élémentaires de toute activité humaine en société, de discerner les principes des structures sociales, principes disparaissant dans l'exubérance des formes au sein des hautes civilisations. Mais les soi-disant „primitifs” ne sont pas simples et il est souvent moins facile de les deviner que d'entendre les civilisés qui largement s'expliquent eux-mêmes. Les constatations ou les interprétations hypothétiques des faits recueillis chez ces „primitifs” ne sont pas nécessairement applicables aux autres : elles ne fournissent pas des lois sûrement générales des structures, de la vie et de la pensée des sociétés. Ce n'est qu'au prix de raisonnements hasardeux par analogie qu'on peut les utiliser pour comprendre la nature et se représenter l'agencement des faits que l'on découvre dans de nouveaux groupes étudiés, surtout à des niveaux différents.

Particulièrement lorsqu'il s'agit de données religieuses traditionnelles les similitudes typologiques et phénoménologiques peuvent donner des présomptions d'identité de nature entre faits observés dans des civilisations ou milieux divers, mais sans impliquer des motivations semblables, car les formes religieuses observables de l'extérieur sont bien moins variées que les motivations intérieures. Les témoignages positifs sur les traditions sont requis pour l'interprétation valable de celles-ci et ils priment tout rattachement théorique à des lois élémentaires conçues indépendamment.

On se trouve donc amené, en fin de compte, à reconnaître l'insuffisance des données dont nous disposons couramment pour comprendre les rapports entre les religions traditionnelles et les cultures modernes et les conséquences de leur affrontement.

Mais la science des religions peut s'adapter et se compléter. Elle peut combler les lacunes dont le problème d'affrontement en question fait

bien prendre conscience. Si l'étude, depuis longtemps entreprise, des sources majeures des traditions ne suffit pas à faire connaître l'état de celles-ci dans les esprits actuels où elles rencontrent l'apport des cultures modernes, il faut étudier ce qu'elles sont précisément dans ces esprits. Il ne faut plus procéder uniquement en remontant à la recherche de leurs origines. Il faut descendre au temps présent en suivant le cours de leur vie jusqu'aujourd'hui. Il ne suffit pas non plus d'enquêter uniquement sur leur état actuel qui n'est qu'un aboutissement. Une tradition est par nature un mouvement continu, or un mobile ne s'observe pas seulement à son point d'arrivée.

L'étude complète des traditions religieuses porte donc sur trois éléments : la substance même de ces traditions depuis leurs sources, leur évolution jalonnée par leurs états historiquement attestés, leur dernier état dans l'opinion de leurs détenteurs.

Seules les civilisations historiques en possession de littératures écrites bien conservées donnent matière à pareille étude. Pour les autres, l'investigation ethnographique est seule possible et ne porte que sur le dernier moment d'une évolution qui reste inaccessible. Elle ne peut remonter dans le passé que par d'occasionnels témoignages historiques provenant des civilisations à traditions fixées. Elle peut, il est vrai, utiliser les traditions orales mais celles-ci n'offrent que des présomptions d'authentique continuité. En effet, elles sont sujettes à l'intrusion de fabulations personnelles de date indéterminable, dues à des sujets qui se sont crus inspirés et ont gagné autorité. Les observations psychologiques modernes abondent en exemples de penseurs se croyant inspirés ou non, selon leurs croyances religieuses, et qui construisent de bonne foi — souvent en bonne foi de paranoïaques — des systèmes très cohérents qu'ils présentent en toute indépendance ou qu'ils rattachent à quelque tradition secrète dont ils prétendent donner la clé.

Les traditions écrites ne sont pas à l'abri de pareilles intrusions mais il est impossible de les y porter par interpolation dans tous les exemplaires des livres sacrés antérieurement reconnus. Elles ne peuvent donner lieu qu'à des ouvrages ou commentaires nouveaux, qui, en cas de succès, sont instruments de changements et d'évolution dans le courant traditionnel, mais y restent à la place de leur apparition historique. Elles jalonnent l'évolution traditionnelle sans brouiller tout le contenu de la tradition en en mêlant toutes les strates.

La tradition orale a encore une autre cause d'incertitude. En cas d'oubli de détails, l'informateur peut rétablir par une hypothèse de reconstruction conçue au cours même de l'exposé un enchaînement qui lui a échappé. On se rend compte aisément de la fréquence de cet accident quand un narrateur veut conter une légende écrite dont il a oublié une partie. Il rétablit par conjecture improvisée l'élément qui lui manque et, en se reportant au texte qu'il a prétendu résumer, on s'aperçoit qu'il n'a pas rencontré juste. Dans les récits de tradition orale pure le contrôle n'existe pas.

Le cas le plus favorable à la recherche significative est donc celui où, derrière la forme actuelle que les traditions ont prise dans un groupe humain homogène, il existe une continuité de traditions écrites et de témoignages historiques livrant à la connaissance les antécédents de l'état présentement observable.

Ce cas est réalisé fréquemment en Asie, du moins dans les grandes civilisations anciennes restées vivantes. En ce qui concerne l'Inde, il faut séparer, comme ils le sont socialement en réalité, les groupes qui ressortissent à la culture majeure pan-indienne et ceux qui vivent localement disséminés en dehors d'elle. La culture majeure pan-indienne a certainement absorbé au cours des âges nombre de groupes locaux primitivement isolés. Mais ceux qui restent isolés encore aujourd'hui sont moins les témoins survivants de ceux qui ont été assimilés que les réfractaires à l'assimilation. Ils ont donc peu de chances de représenter valablement ce qu'ont pu être ceux qui précisément se sont comportés à l'inverse d'eux-mêmes en adhérant à la culture commune.

Ils ne sont pas à négliger pour autant et méritent largement les études ethnographiques et linguistiques qui ont été entreprises sur eux et qui sont urgentes. Mais ces études mêmes doivent tenir compte des influences qu'exercent de façon peu apparente les sociétés de haute culture environnantes. Celles-ci passent pour avoir tenu les groupes extérieures toujours complètement à l'écart, en même temps qu'ils se montraient réfractaires à tout contact. Cependant, dans le cas des Santals, par exemple, que Bodding a si bien étudiés, il a été facile de montrer que, là où Bodding pensait saisir chez eux des idées de „primitifs" isolés sur la maladie, beaucoup de ces idées étaient en fait d'emprunt récent à l'Ayurveda classique et à la magie bengalie. Si la société bengalie les méprise et les écarte, des membres de cette

société qui se sont trouvés en rupture avec elle et ont pu se rapprocher d'eux, leur ont manifestement communiqué quelques unes de leurs connaissances. D'ailleurs, depuis les études de Sir Alfred Lyall au XIXe siècle sur la propagation de l'hindouisme et la brahmanisation au sein des tribus aborigènes, on a toujours été porté à admettre qu'en dépit des règles orthodoxes de ségrégation des classes sociales, l'hindouisme n'a pas été aussi fermé vers l'extérieur qu'on aurait pu croire d'après les *dharmasāstra*. L'adoption ancienne de l'hindouisme dans bien des pays du Sud-Est Asiatique, principalement au Campa, au Cambodge et en Indonésie, montre bien aussi qu'il n'a pas répugné à se communiquer à l'étranger ou il a rencontré souvent des peuples moins réfractaires à se l'assimiler que bien des groupes du territoire indien même. Et l'on s'efforce naturellement, de retrouver jusque dans la tradition brahmanique la plus orthodoxe les traces probables de substrat aborigène qu'elle a dû recouvrir.

Il résulte déjà de ces remarques que les traditions de l'Inde et du Sud-Est asiatique, particulièrement les traditions religieuses, même fixées en orthodoxies strictes comme elles en ont manifesté souvent, n'ont pas été imperméables dans le passé aux cultures étrangères de rencontre et aux emprunts mutuels. Les contacts ont donné lieu à autant d'accommodements que de heurts et de retraits, selon les circonstances. L'étude historique de ces contacts, dans la mesure où elle est possible, doit permettre de replacer celle du contact actuel des traditions religieuses et des cultures modernes dans la longue série des événements similaires. A ce prix seulement on peut espérer parvenir à des constatations générales. C'est pourquoi, en même temps que les enquêtes sur l'état présent des esprits doivent s'étendre et s'approfondir, la connaissance des traditions doit s'efforcer de se compléter pour tous les temps.

L'indologie ayant surtout jusqu'à présent étudié les sources fondamentales anciennes des traditions religieuses et sociales, une de ses tâches les plus urgentes est de se mettre à jour, en comblant la lacune d'information qui lui reste entre le passé ancien et l'état présent. Elle doit pouvoir ainsi déterminer ce qui demeure réellement vivant dans le contenu des sources toujours révérees et ce que les temps ultérieurs ont apporté en surplus. Elle doit constater ainsi quelle a été l'évolution et quelles sont, dans le prolongement actuel de cette évolution, les raisons d'être des réactions observables et les perspectives qui s'ouvrent.



Plus précisément, elle doit recueillir et dépouiller la littérature traditionnelle des croyances et des cultes et techniques religieuses sur laquelle repose directement la foi et les pratiques actuelles. Cette littérature consiste dans les textes effectivement utilisés par les fidèles et dans les manuels liturgiques suivis par les officiants.

Les textes utilisés par les fidèles diffèrent selon les formes de l'hindouisme et selon les régions et les langues. Ils varient aussi avec la classe sociale et le degré d'instruction.

Les textes sanskrits, soit anciens, soit modernes, appartiennent plus particulièrement, mais non exclusivement, à la classe brahmanique. Ce sont en tout cas ceux de la classe instruite. De cette dernière une partie seulement étudie profondément les ouvrages philosophiques. L'éducation brahmanique traditionnelle comporte, avec un grand entraînement de la mémoire cultivée dès le jeune âge, l'étude de la grammaire, de la logique et des belles lettres. La philosophie, en dehors de la logique qui fait partie des enseignements fondamentaux, est une matière à option, variant selon les écoles. Les études traditionnelles complètes, surtout suivies par des brâhmanes orthodoxes et par de non brâhmanes désireux de se conformer à eux, sont longues et absorbantes. Elles sont néanmoins compatibles avec une solide étude de l'anglais par lequel les étudiants sont mis en contact avec les cultures modernes. L'attribut le plus général de la classe brâhmanique est la fonction d'étude. La coutume traditionnelle des familles incite donc à l'acquisition de toutes sortes de connaissances, ce qui multiplie dans les esprits les confrontations les plus conscientes des traditions religieuses et des cultures modernes.

C'est alors qu'est le plus fréquente la division de l'activité en traditionnelle, pour ce qui se rapporte aux opinions métaphysiques et à certaines pratiques religieuses, et en moderne, pour ce qui concerne la science du monde physique et biologique ainsi que l'exercice d'une profession. L'absence d'incompatibilité obligatoire entre tradition religieuse et culture moderne se manifeste donc en Inde, dans des conditions qui semblent assez voisines de celles qui s'observent en Occident. Elle se manifeste surtout chez ceux qui possèdent le mieux les deux cultures à la fois. Mais, comme en Occident, c'est aussi dans la classe instruite que se rencontrent souvent les plus ardents partisans de l'une ou de l'autre culture, quand l'exclusivisme intervient, généralement avec une option politique, et fait renier tantôt la culture nationale

comme surannée, tantôt la moderne comme novatrice inadéquate aux besoins et aux sentiments nationaux. La proportion des exclusivistes, particulièrement des exclusivistes antireligieux, semble moindre en Inde qu'en Occident, soit que les croyances et pratiques religieuses y exercent par elles mêmes un plus grand attrait, soit qu'elles se soient renforcées longtemps par un mouvement de défense contre des cultures à la fois d'origine étrangère et introduites sous domination étrangère. Ce qui est certain c'est que la classe lettrée indienne a toujours cherché à montrer qu'elle avait dans son propre fonds l'équivalent de ce que le modernisme étranger apportait. Le même phénomène s'est produit sous les Mogols, lorsque les traditions se sont cristallisées pour faire front aux apports islamiques et lorsque des Hindous de haute valeur tout en servant les Mogols, comme l'a fait Toḍarmall ont travaillé à renforcer la tradition hindoue. Toḍarmall, qui servait Akbar, a fait compiler en effet, toute une encyclopédie du savoir hindou.

Les livres religieux sanskrits les plus souvent réédités et présentés dans le commerce indiquent les prédilections de la clientèle. En dehors de la *Bhagavadgītā* et du *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, on trouve surtout des hymnes dévots, particulièrement de ceux qui se récitent dans la pratique cultuelle. Beaucoup de textes sanskrits sont aujourd'hui édités avec des traductions juxtaposées passage par passage en les diverses langues modernes.

Dans les sanctuaires et lieux de pèlerinage sont édités des *sthala-purāṇa* ou *māhātmya* qui exposent et exaltent les légendes en rapport avec le lieu saint. Ces ouvrages, jusqu'à nos jours assez négligés comme simples œuvres tardives de propagande, sont en réalité très importants parce qu'ils renseignent sur la matière qui alimente la religion actuelle.

Un grand nombre de ces textes sont en langues modernes ou en langues anciennes autres que le sanskrit, principalement dans le Sud, en tamil, kannāḍa et telugu, où les littératures rivales de la sanskrite fleurissent depuis l'antiquité ou le Moyen-âge, selon les langues. Lorsqu'il s'agit de textes anciens ou d'un art poétique savant, ils sont mis à la portée du public par des versions ou de véritables traductions dans la forme actuelle de la langue.

Ceux qui ont suivi l'enseignement primaire ou l'enseignement anglais seulement, même si en ce cas il s'agit d'enseignement supérieur, n'ont pas accès aux textes sanskrits et ne sont pas toujours en état de comprendre les textes anciens dans leur langue maternelle. Cependant, ils

en connaissent au moins quelques citations ou connaissent des sentences et proverbes caractéristiques de leur milieu traditionnel. Les illettrés eux-mêmes sont loin d'être toujours sans culture. En un pays où l'instruction a été traditionnellement surtout orale jusqu'en ses plus hauts degrés, où la mémoire, tôt exercée, tient lieu de bibliothèque, où l'érudit est „celui qui a beaucoup entendu", on peut, sans savoir lire ni écrire, être versé dans les légendes, les contes, l'ample littérature des sentences morales. On connaît en tout cas les chansons populaires et celles qui accompagnent les travaux rythmés. Or nombre de ces chansons ont une forte teinte religieuse. La masse indienne non scolarisée n'est donc pas un corps sans âme. Elle est psychologiquement conditionnée par une instruction traditionnelle à laquelle le statisticien à l'occidentale ne prend pas garde lorsqu'il enregistre simplement les taux d'assiduité à l'école officielle.

Pour cette masse, le contact avec la culture moderne est purement matériel: elle la subit, en profite, la sert dans ses applications par son travail. Elle n'en a pas une possession intellectuelle comparable à celle qu'elle a de sa tradition religieuse, elle ne la fait donc pas entrer en conflit avec celle-ci dans son esprit où elle n'a pas occasion de l'admettre. Elle ne lui oppose pas de résistance particulière, comme on le suppose volontiers, par fanatisme ou inertie. Elle adopte ses productions quand elle en a besoin et qu'elle est en état de se les procurer — d'où, par exemple, l'immense succès du cinéma — mais par ailleurs elle ne s'en soucie guère.

Cet état de choses fait croire facilement aux observateurs extérieurs et superficiels que la masse populaire indienne est indifférente et suit passivement une tradition immuable empêchant tout progrès. Parmi eux s'en inquiètent ceux qui ne conçoivent pas le progrès autrement que dans les formes qui leur conviennent à eux-mêmes et sincèrement désespèrent de peuples qui vivent autrement qu'eux. Parmi eux encore, s'en irritent ceux qui souhaitent pour la population une évolution de nature à la rendre cliente de leur propre production technique. Mais les uns et les autres s'alarment à tort, tout en ne pouvant pas être satisfaits. La tradition religieuse indienne n'est pas généralement opposée aux changements, surtout aux changements matériels qui ne la concernent pas. Mais, précisément parce que les changements matériels ne la concernent pas, elle n'a pas à s'effacer pour leur faire place et ils n'apportent rien dans le domaine psychologique qui puisse

être mis en balance avec ce qu'elle possède de vivant et de riche. Beaucoup d'Indiens croient que leur culture nationale est spirituelle et que la culture moderne occidentale est matérielle exclusivement, mais admettent les réalisations de la technique sans préjudice de la spiritualité. L'Inde n'est point par la tradition religieuse rendue réfractaire à la culture moderne, mais elle n'en connaît, dans les milieux les plus nombreux, que des résultats techniques qui ne sont pas toujours à son usage.

Les ouvrages utilisés par les prêtres, de liturgie, de prières et en général traitant de tout ce qui concerne les doctrines et les pratiques religieuses forment une littérature très considérable : celle des *Āgama*. Ce nom signifie proprement „tradition” et, dans ce sens général, il a été utilisé en sanskrit aussi bien par les bouddhistes que par les hindouistes. A Bali, la religion, profondément inspirée de l'Inde, est même appelée de ce nom. Les inscriptions sanskrites du Cambodge l'emploient également, mais pour désigner spécifiquement des textes indiens dans le titre desquels il figure expressément, comme le *Pārameśvarāgama* mentionné dans une inscription de Xe siècle.

C'est dans les diverses littératures se rattachant au culte de Śiva que la désignation d'*āgama* est le plus régulièrement usitée pour désigner ces traités de religion. Mais on les appelle aussi *tantra* et les ouvrages similaires chez les bouddhistes portent aussi ce dernier titre, valable pour toute la classe de ces écrits. Leurs équivalents sont plutôt désignés sous le nom de *saṃhitā* chez les vishnouites et leurs parallèles se retrouvent aussi chez les Jain.

A quelque courant religieux qu'ils appartiennent, ces manuels de doctrine et de pratique, quand ils sont complets, traitent quatre sujets complémentaires et également nécessaires : la science ou connaissance (*vidyā* ou *jñāna*), le rituel (*kriyā*), le comportement (*caryā*) et l'entraînement psychosomatique (*yoga*).

Les *Āgamas* opposent dans leur ensemble aux *Nigama* qui désignent les *Veda*. On suppose volontiers qu'ils procèdent d'un courant différent du courant religieux védique, courant qui plongerait dans la pré-histoire du substrat préaryen, d'abord longtemps recouvert par le védisme aryen et qui aurait resurgi. Cette théorie est une hypothèse et non le fruit de constatations. Elle impliquerait que rien de nouveau ne peut jamais se créer au cours du temps dans les religions de l'Inde et que tout ce qu'elles professent vient de l'extérieur, comme ce serait

le cas pour l'apport védique des Aryens envahisseurs, ou vient du passé autochtone préhistorique. Et ceci n'est guère vraisemblable. L'examen de l'ensemble des littératures indiennes, y compris la littérature tamile ancienne, conduit plutôt à considérer que le développement des idées scientifiques et des théories de représentation de l'ordre du monde et des fonctions du corps et de l'esprit humain ont donné lieu à des innovations dans les conceptions religieuses et dans les conduites. Les techniques de yoga n'apparaissent que comme résultats d'applications expérimentales des théories psychophysiologiques. Les disciplines de comportement répondent de même aux conceptions savantes sur les modes de conditionnement du psychisme.

Les positions relatives des Veda et des Āgama sont conformes aux définitions des Āgama eux-mêmes : les Veda enseignent les rites qui conduisent à la jouissance du monde (*bhukti*), les Āgama remplissent le même rôle, mais de plus ils ouvrent le chemin de la libération de ce monde (*mukti*), laquelle ne se conçoit que dans la croyance en une réalité transcendante au monde.

Quoiqu'il en soit, dans le Sud de l'Inde, où l'hindouisme est resté beaucoup plus à l'abri que dans le Nord de l'action islamique, ce sont les textes des Āgama śivaïtes et des Saṃhitā vishnouïtes qui règlent toujours la pratique religieuse. Les doctrines et la dévotion sont perpétuées et exaltées par la littérature tamile dévote, par les légendes des lieux saints, par les représentations des dieux et des histoires divines dans les temples et par les écrits philosophiques. Dans les milieux śivaïtes en particulier, prédominent à cet égard les ouvrages dits du Śaivasiddhānta dont les doctrines attestées au moins depuis le VII<sup>e</sup> siècle, sont toujours en vogue.

Ce sont là les sources vraies et directes des mentalités religieuses actuelles. Leur étude permet donc de savoir comment ces mentalités se sont formées et de comprendre en quoi elles consistent aujourd'hui. Elle est destinée à combler la lacune de connaissance qui demeure entre le passé vénéré mais mort et la vie présente.

Pareille étude ne peut être menée par des chercheurs isolés. Personne ne peut à la fois recueillir et publier les textes inédits, étudier les textes édités et en vogue en plusieurs langues et dans des domaines divers mais connexes, compiler les légendes, les comparer aux figurations de l'art et mener des enquêtes dans les temples et dans les milieux multiples de la société. Mais la tâche est possible par coordination des

efforts de chercheurs associés et en Inde même. C'est dans le but de contribuer à cette tâche dans la mesure de ses moyens qu'un Institut français d'indologie a été fondé à Pondichéry il y a dix ans. Il ne saurait promettre la solution du problème des contacts des traditions religieuses et des cultures modernes, mais ses premiers travaux auront pu permettre d'en préciser les données et d'appeler l'attention sur une grande lacune d'information au sujet des traditions religieuses réellement en activité et réellement opposables aux cultures modernes ou conciliables avec elles.

De toute façon, l'étude plus précise des conditions d'établissement et d'évolution des traditions religieuses doit conduire à mieux discerner dans ces traditions ce qui tient vraiment à la religion et ce qui ne fait qu'y être rattaché par une opinion insuffisamment informée.

Pour ne prendre qu'un exemple on peut considérer ce qu'on appelle le „système des castes”. Il est notoire que les divisions actuelles ne correspondent qu'incomplètement — et en certaines régions point du tout — aux définitions des *dharmasāstra* et en particulier du plus répandu, celui de Manu. Cependant, comme les *dharmasāstra* englobent aussi bien la norme religieuse que le droit civil, et comme la division de la société en quatre grandes classes remonte au R̥gveda, on considère habituellement que les divisions en castes multiples à l'intérieur des quatre grandes classes ont un fondement religieux et que les usages et interdits reconnus par les membres de chaque caste sont des règles imposées par la religion. Beaucoup d'hindous le croient eux-mêmes. On rend donc la religion responsable du compartimentage de la société indienne.

Pourtant, si l'on ne s'en tient pas à l'étude du R̥gveda ou de Manu, si on examine dans quelle mesure les textes formels des *dharmasāstra* sont réellement suivis, cette théorie devient difficile à conserver telle quelle.

On peut d'abord observer que le „système” est théorique, idéal, qu'il est décrit dans les livres mais que les faits de division qui sont réels ne répondent à aucun système, vu qu'ils sont infiniment variables selon les opinions locales à travers l'Inde et même les opinions des groupes différents dans les mêmes localités. En dehors de la classe large des brâhmanes, les autres classes ne sont pas représentées ou ne sont que présumées représentées par le reste de la population, notamment au pays tamil où les divisions ne répondent pas à celles

de Manu et où les grandes classes des kṣatriya et vaiśya ne sont représentées que par des groupes qui prétendent s'y rattacher sans que les autres l'admettent autrement que par esprit de tolérance.

Surtout les divisions réelles apparaissent fondées sur des nécessités de défense professionnelle en un pays où la concurrence est âpre pour trouver du travail et sur des sentiments d'honneur, même d'orgueil de groupe, qui sont très forts jusque chez les plus humbles, lesquels d'ailleurs n'ont souvent pas d'autre bien à revendiquer et à défendre. C'est la psychologie sociale qui explique l'attachement aux castes particulières, non une règle religieuse qui ne les recense même pas telles qu'elles sont.

Les religions en vogue, le Śaivasiddhānta du pays tamoul, en particulier, la doctrine des Viraśaiva au Maisūr également et d'autres encore qui sont régionalement dominantes, ont d'ailleurs ouvert depuis des siècles le chemin du salut religieux à tous les fidèles à quelque classe sociale qu'ils appartiennent.

Le brâhmane vishnouite Rāmānuja appelait déjà les „intouchables” *Tirukulattar*, „ceux de la famille de la Fortune”, préfigurant par ce nom celui d'aujourd'hui, Harijan, „peuple de Dieu”.

Mais la religion n'a pas prétendu décréter l'égalité dans le monde social dont elle enseignait à s'affranchir et qu'elle ne pouvait gouverner et elle ne pouvait pas non plus empêcher, dans ce domaine qui n'était pas le sien, les conservateurs de prendre la tradition religieuse pour prétexte du maintien d'une tradition sociale en réalité indépendante.

En tout cas, l'étude de l'histoire des religions dans l'Inde et dans toute l'Asie sur laquelle l'Inde a influé ne peut que bénéficier de recherches ayant pour but, tout en continuant l'exégèse des sources anciennes et l'observation actuelle, de restituer autant que possible, entre les origines et les aboutissements, toute la continuité de la tradition dont la documentation est immense et le champ illimité.

## QUQ AND THE QUQITES

*An unknown sect in Edessa in the second century A.D.*

BY

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Since Walter Bauer in 1934, in his deservedly famous book, pointed out the "heretical" character of the earliest Christianity in Edessa, where in the second century A.D. Marcionites and Bardesanites set the pace,<sup>1)</sup> our picture of religious life in this town has become considerably more complex. Thus A. F. J. Klijn distinguishes a number of loosely connected groups centred on particular persons or scriptures, including the Odes of Solomon and the Gospel of Thomas,<sup>2)</sup> while everything indicates that also other writings from the gnostic library of Chenoboskion either originated from the region of Syria or were known there.<sup>3)</sup> Jewish Christianity, whatever its exact definition may be, is also given an important place in Edessa, and direct historical connections are even thought to exist between Jerusalem and Qumran on the one hand and Edessa on the other.<sup>4)</sup> Bearing in mind that the

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1) W. Bauer, *Rechtgläubigkeit und Ketzerei im ältesten Christentum*, BHTh, 10, Tübingen, 1934; second edition with a "Nachtrag" by G. Strecker 1964, SS. 6-48.

2) A. F. Klijn, *Edessa de stad van de apostel Thomas*, Baarn 1962, *passim*; *idem*, *The Acts of Thomas*, Supplements to Novum Testamentum V, Leiden 1962, pp. 30-33.

3) A Syrian origin of the Gospel of Thomas and the Gospel of Philip is certain. Since P. Nagel's article "Die Herkunft des Evangelium Veritatis in sprachlicher Sicht", *OLZ*, 1966, Kol. 5-14, it also becomes more likely for the Evangelium Veritatis, after H. M. Schenke, *Die Herkunft des sogenannten Evangelium Veritatis*, Göttingen 1959, had already pointed in that direction. Nagel points out a number of evident Syriacisms in the EV; but cf. A. Böhlig, "Zur Ursprache des Evangelium Veritatis", *Le Muséon* LXXIX, 1966, SS. 317-333.

4) Thus *int. al.* J. Daniélou, *Das Judentum und die Anfänge der Kirche*, Köln/Opladen 1964, *passim*; R. Aubert/J. Daniélou, *Geschiedenis van de Kerk I*, Hilversum/Antwerpen 1963, pp. 221 ff; J. C. L. Gibson, "From Qumran to Edessa or the Aramaic speaking Church before and after 70 A.D.", *The Annual of Leeds Oriental Society*, V, 1963-1965, Leiden 1966, pp. 24-39; cf. for Jewish Christians in Edessa, G. Strecker, *Das Judenchristentum in den Pseudoklementinen*, TU 70,



origins of Gnosticism are also sought in Edessa and its environment, we have a fairly complete general idea, though it is far from harmonious and clear.<sup>5)</sup>

In none of the studies discussing the religious history of Edessa in the second century A.D. will the name of the heresiarch Quq and his eponymous followers be found, for the obvious reason that extremely little is known of him. In his edition of 1898 of the eleventh book of scholia of Theodore bar Khonai, H. Pognon annotates the passage dealing with the Quqites: "Cette secte est très peu connue".<sup>6)</sup> Unknown they are still at any rate in 1946, when G. Widengren speaks of "the little known sect of the Quqites",<sup>7)</sup> and in 1958 J. Doresse introduces the French translation of Theodore bar Khonai's passage regarding them with the words "Plus étrange était la secte des Koukéens".<sup>8)</sup> Obscurity combined with strangeness is attractive, and this may justify the following study, which will render the religious situation of Edessa even more complex, yet will also draw a few lines which may be hoped to increase its clarity.

The number of sources for the knowledge of Quq and his followers is restricted, yet it is greater than was thought up to the present.<sup>9)</sup>

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Berlin 1958; G. Strecker, "Zum Problem des Judenchristentums", Nachtrag I to W. Bauer, *Rechtgläubigkeit und Ketzerei im ältesten Christentum*, second edition, Tübingen 1964, SS. 245-287; H. Koester, "ΤΝΩΜΑΙ ΔΙΑΦΟΡΟΙ: The Origin and Nature of Diversification in the History of Early Christianity", *HThR*, 58, 1965, pp. 279-318; *Aspects du Judéo-Christianisme*, Paris 1965 with contributions by M. Simon, G. Quispel, J. Daniélou et al., in which Qumran and Edessa are repeatedly brought into relation.

5) Thus *int. al.* Quispel, Daniélou, Doresse, Puech, Rudolph and many others; cf. K. Rudolph, "Stand und Aufgaben in der Erforschung des Gnostizismus", *Sonderheft d. Wiss. Zeitschr. d. Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena*, 1963, SS. 89-102, esp. S. 96; Edessa and the surrounding parts form the only region where all the cultures and religions, to which in turn the origins of Gnosticism are traced, have exercised influence upon each other.

6) H. Pognon, *Inscriptions mandäites des coupes de Khouabir*, Paris 1898, p. (209), note 1.

7) G. Widengren, *Mesopotamian Elements in Manichaeism*, UUA 1946, 3, p. 16.

8) J. Doresse, *Les livres secrets des gnostiques d'Égypte*, Paris 1958, p. 58; in the English translation, *The secret books of the Egyptian Gnostics*, London 1960, Doresse did not change this outlook.

9) Pognon, *l.c.*, p. (209) only names "un passage de saint Ephrem" besides the notice of Theodore bar Khonai; A. Harnack, *Der Ketzer-Katalog des Bischofs Maruta van Maipherkat*, TU IV, 1b, Leipzig 1899, S. 10 f. only knows the notice of Maruta and the four passages in the Hymns contra Haereses of Ephrem

Ephrem Syrus names Quq some four times in his Hymns contra Haereses, while he is also mentioned in Ephrem's Testament in the enumeration of all the heretics who threatened orthodoxy in Edessa, and demanded Ephrem's attention and energy.<sup>10)</sup> Maruta of Maipherkat (born c. 350) also devoted a passage to Quq and his followers in his heretical catalogue.<sup>11)</sup> A notice of much the same content, but far more detailed, is found in the *Historia Ecclesiastica* of Barḥadbešabba ʿArbaia and also in the *Book of the Lamp of Darkness* by Abū 'l-Barakât.<sup>12)</sup> Jacob of Edessa makes a short remark about him in his twelfth letter to the stylite Joḥannan of Litharb,<sup>13)</sup> and finally Theodore bar Khonai gives an extensive account of the heresy of the Quqites in his above-mentioned book of *Scholia*, an account entirely different from all the others.<sup>14)</sup> For a slightly better understanding

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where Quq is named; A. Schmidtke, *Neue Fragmente und Untersuchungen zu den jüdenchristlichen Evangelien*, TU 37, 1, Leipzig 1911, SS. 173 ff. is acquainted with the notice of Maruta and that of Theodore bar Khonai, which he has taken from W. Bousset, *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis*, FRLANT 10, Göttingen 1907, S. 263 Anm. 2; S. 337, Anm. 2; Bousset knows the "passage de saint Ephrem" mentioned by Pognon; Puech in Hennecke/Schneemelcher, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen I*, Tübingen 1959, S. 187 f. names all the fore-mentioned texts, and also the fragment from the 12th letter of Jacob of Edessa (incorrectly termed by him the 13th letter); H. H. Schaefer, *ZKG*, LI, 1932, S. 44, Anm. 41 even speaks of the 17th letter); Doresse, *l.c.*, p. 58 only names Theodore bar Khonai. Obviously the texts from the *Historia Ecclesiastica* of Barḥadbešabba ʿArbaia and of Abū 'l-Barakât have escaped notice. It may be that also Moses bar Kepha and Ḥwannis of Dārā have similar notices referring to Quq, but their works are largely unpublished.

10) Testament of Ephrem, *JA*, 9 série, 18, 1901, p. 298; cf. F. Haase, *Altchristliche Kirchengeschichte nach orientalischen Quellen*, Leipzig 1925, S. 316, and on the Testament of Ephrem in particular: A. Vööbus, *Literary critical and historical studies in Ephrem the Syrian*, Stockholm 1958, pp. 11 ff.

11) ed. I.E. II Rahmani, *Documenta de antiquis haeresibus*, *Studia Syriaca* IV, In seminario Scharfensi de monte Libano 1909, p. 111 (Syr. count), p. 78 (Latin translation); Rahmani also mentions part of the notice of Theodore bar Khonai in a Latin translation, p. XLII.

12) Barḥadbešabba ʿArbaia, *La première partie de l'histoire*, ed. F. Nau, *PO* XXIII, Paris 1932, pp. 194 sv.; Abū 'l-Barakât, *Le livre de la lampe des ténèbres*, ed. L. Villecont, *PO* XX, Paris 1929, p. 689-690.

13) ed. W. Wright, "Two Epistles of Mar Jacob, Bishop of Edessa", *Journal of Sacred Literature*, N. Series, 10, 1867, pp. 430-460; French translation by F. Nau, *ROC*, 10, 1905, pp. 278 svv.; German translation in A. Rucker, *Des heiligen Ephraïms des Syrers Hymnen gegen die Irrlehren*, aus dem Syrischen übers., *BKV*<sup>2</sup>, 61, München 1928, S. 13 f.

14) ed. H. Pognon, *l.c.*, p. 144 svv. (Syriac text), p. (209) svv. (French translation) and ed. S. Scher, *Liber Scholiorum*, *CSCO*, *Series Secunda*, 65-66, Paris

of Quq and the Quqites it seems desirable to examine these sources more closely, and that in a chronological order. After analysis and confrontation of the sources, a sketch of Quq's doctrine becomes possible of attainment, whereupon its place in the variegated religious scene of Edessa in the second century can be more narrowly determined, with all the lines that meet in this heresiarch or issue from him.

### *The sources*

Ephrem Syrus (306-373), the champion of orthodoxy in Edessa, found Quqites there besides a number of other "heretical" groups, among whom Marcionites, Bardesanites and Manichaeans were most in evidence; for these three groups Ephrem's polemic supplies most valuable information, which unfortunately cannot be said of his report regarding the Quqites. Clearly this group as a whole was not very important. Ephrem says of them:

Quq also is a mystery to the Quqites by his name,  
because he made them into pitchers, empty ones, by his doctrine.<sup>15)</sup>  
The Quqite has added and spoiled (viz. the Scriptures).<sup>16)</sup>  
The Quqite named it (viz. the community) after his name.<sup>17)</sup>  
No more than the Audians  
are ashamed of the name "owl", no more are the Arians and the Quqites  
ashamed.<sup>18)</sup>

Ephrem Syrus, then, has little matter to pass on regarding the Quqites. Playing upon the meaning of the word "quqa" = "pitcher", he declares that Quq made the Quqites into empty, sounding vessels, which truly do not contain the "treasure in earthen vessels" but merely mutilated Scripture, supplemented with products of their own, perhaps apocryphal or pseudepigraphical gospels. In the same way Ephrem plays upon the names of the other heresiarchs.<sup>19)</sup> One

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1910-1912, Vol. II, pp. (333) svv.; the text of Scher is almost identical with that of Pognon; neither edition can satisfy the requirements of scholarship; in the Institute of Semitic Studies of the State University of Groningen a new edition is in preparation.

15) ed. E. Beck, *Des heiligen Ephraem des Syrers Hymnen contra Haereses*, CSCO, Script. Syri 76 (*textus*), 77 (*versio*), Louvain 1957, II, 6, 5-6, p. 7 (*textus*), p. 8 (*versio*).

16) CH XXII, 2, p. 78 (*textus*), p. 77 (*versio*).

17) CH XXII, 3, p. 79 (*textus*), p. 78 (*versio*).

18) CH XXIV, 16, p. 95 (*textus*), p. 89 (*versio*).

19) e.g. with those of Mani, Bardaisan, Arius and Aud; cf. Beck, p. 89 (*versio*) Anm. 11 and 12.

strophe, *Contra Haereses* XXII, 2, is particularly important, for there Ephrem names Quq and the other heretics in this order: Marcion, Valentinus, Quq, Bardaišan and Mani. We notice that it is a chronological series, and may conclude that Quq was active in the period between Valentinus and Bardaišan, that is to say around 160 A.D. In his *Prose Refutations* Ephrem does not mention Quq at all any more, but only speaks of Marcion, Bardaišan and Mani,<sup>20)</sup> obviously those chiefly to blame for the sad lot of orthodoxy.

Maruta of Maipherkat has a passage on the Quqites in his heretical catalogue, which was afterwards added to a collection of largely spurious *Acta* and *Canones* of the Council of Nicea, transmitted to us in an Arabic version.<sup>21)</sup> In 1909 Rahmani edited the Syriac text of the heretical catalogue, after O. Braun had published a German translation in 1898, repeated and briefly annotated by Harnack in 1899. The Latin translation of this heretical catalogue by Abraham Echellensis, which is not entirely free of mistakes, is included in Mansi's collection of Council Acts.<sup>22)</sup> It is generally agreed that this heretical catalogue is indeed by Maruta, in contrast with other works ascribed to him.<sup>23)</sup> Maruta writes as follows about the Quqites:

*Heresy of the Quqites*

These resemble the Samaritans. They do not bury their dead, but when they have a dead man, they hire others to bury him. The resurrection (of the dead) they deny. They cast out lepers and sufferers from elephantiasis and other such ills. They have invented twelve evangelists with the names of the twelve apostles. They have also mutilated the whole of the New Testament, but not the Old.<sup>24)</sup>

Barḥadbešabba ʿArbaña (end of the 6th century), "presbyter et interpres", "caput doctorum" of the famous theological school of Nisi-

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20) cf. F. Haase, *l.c.* S. 321: "Die Kukianer scheinen die älteste christliche Sekte in Edessa gewesen zu sein", words which Haase has taken literally from Harnack, *l.c.*, S. 10.

21) cf. for this matter H. J. W. Drijvers, *Bardaišan of Edessa*, *Studia Semitica Neerlandica* VI, Assen 1966, p. 107 f.

22) Mansi, *Conc.* II, Kol. 1058 E; Abraham calls the sect Phocalites, but this is due to a misreading of the Arabic text, cf. Rahmani, *Studia Syriaca* IV, p. XXX.

23) cf. I. Ortiz de Urbina, *Patrologia Syriaca*, Roma 1958, p. 49 and Drijvers, *o.c.*, p. 107, note 3.

24) text after Rahmani, *o.c.*, reprinted in F. Nau, Bar Hebraeus, *Sur les Hérésies*, PO XIII, Paris 1919.

bis, has a much fuller version of this notice in his *Historia Ecclesiastica*, running as follows: 25)

The ninth heresy is that of the Quqites. After this Quq, their heresiarch, was taken in sin with the wife of his father, he was expelled from the church and founded this heresy. He mixed the doctrine of the Scriptures with the notions of the Chaldaean system. They all believe in the Seven and the Twelve. He borrowed various things from Marcion and from Bardaišan and led his followers astray. Their way of behaviour is the same as that of the Samaritans. The dead they do not bury, and when they have a dead man, they hire strangers to bury him. The resurrection (of the dead) they deny. They cast out lepers and sufferers from elephantiasis and other such ills. Under the name of the twelve Apostles they have invented twelve gospels. The whole New Testament they have spoiled, the Old, on the contrary, they have not mutilated.<sup>26)</sup>

The terminology of Barḥadbešabba and of Maruta is, at any rate in the second part of Barḥadbešabba's notice, almost literally the same, so that one naturally thinks of derivation or a common source. Barḥadbešabba is the only one to speak of the practice of astrology or a belief in astrological teachings on the part of the Quqites, and to suggest that they owe something to Marcion and Bardaišan.

An analogous notice in much the same words is found in the "Book of the Lamp of Darkness" of Abû 'l-Barakât (ob. 1325), whose Arabic text is almost the same as the Arabic preface to the apocryphal *Acta* and *Canones* of Nicea among which the heretical catalogue has been included. Yet this notice has a few characteristic additions. The statement is as follows:

#### *The Sect of the Quqites*

In their way of behaviour they resemble the Samaritans. They regard all things as unclean and they regard the dead as unclean and when one of them dies, they give him to someone they have hired to bury him and they remove him from their midst. If a stranger meets one of their women and desires an act of sin of her, there is nothing in their religion forbidding them to comply, but they regard it as a good work to violate some one in this manner. They do not believe in the Last Day, nor in the resurrection, nor in the Judgment. They cast out those afflicted with the itch, lepers, sufferers from elephantiasis and similar ills such as swellings of the glands and sores, those who are misshapen, such as the lame, some one who lacks a hand, is deaf or blind or has sore eyes, and they remove them from their midst. Therefore

25) cf. Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*, Bonn 1922, S. 136; Ortiz de Urbina, *o.c.*, p. 123.

26) *PO* XXIII, p. 194 sv.

they have altered the books of the New Testament and written a gospel for themselves under the name of the twelve apostles, without making an alteration in the books of the Old Testament (The Book of the Tower relates, that they resembled the Samaritans in their hatred of mankind, that they did not approach the dead, that they cast out the sick and misshapen, that only the pure and healthy were allowed to enter their houses of prayer and that they wrote the gospel which is put to the name of the twelve disciples. Nothing else is related of them).<sup>27)</sup>

The Book of the Tower, commonly called *Liber Turris*, is a Nestorian Summa Theologiae and history of the Nestorian church, written in the middle of the 12th. century by Mārī ibn Sulaimān, entitled *Kitāb al-Miḡdal lil-istibṣar wal-ḡadal*. In the fourth part of the Book of the Tower is found a list of heresies, probably derived from Maruta's catalogue of heresies or an affiliated list.<sup>27a)</sup> On comparison, the three notices of Maruta of Maipherkat, Barḥadbešabba 'Arbaia and Abū 'l-Barakāt respectively, show considerable resemblances beside differences and additions. They must be connected, and indeed this is already evident from the sequence of the heresies, which is exactly the same with all three authors. Considering all the peculiarities of the texts, the best solution of the problem in literary history thus posed is the following. At the time of Maruta of Maipherkat, and in all probability before his time already, there existed a collection of information about heretical groups in the Syrian-Mesopotamian region, whose author remains unknown up to the present. There is no reason to carry back all data to Ephrem, as is sometimes done. Maruta made a condensed version of this, which was afterwards added to the Acta and Canones of Nicea ascribed to him. The longer and more original version, however, continued in existence and is preserved, *int. al.*, in the notice of Barḥadbešabba. The information Maruta gives about the Bardesanites and the Manichaeans, compared with that given by Barḥadbešabba, also proves to be compressed, for Barḥadbešabba's longer version is not an elaboration of Maruta's notices; other sources confirm the soundness of Barḥadbešabba's information.<sup>28)</sup> If we compare the Syriac version of Maruta with the Arabic in the apo-

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27) PO XX, p. 689 sv.

27a) cf. G. Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, Bd. II, *Studi e Testi* 133, Vatican 1947, pp. 200-202; and the literature there mentioned; A. Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*, Bonn 1922, S.6.

28) cf. Drijvers, *o.c.*, pp. 106 ff.

cryptal Nicean acts, we find that the latter contains more than the former. This richer content is also found in the notice of Abû 'l-Barakât, who made use of these Nicean Acts, particularly of the preface which contains the heretical catalogue. Maruta's text, then, underwent some enlargement before assuming the shape in which it was finally embodied in the Nicean Acts, and this enlargement was presumably influenced by the existing longer version. The remarkable collation in the account of Abû 'l-Barakât also points to the existence of two versions, a long and a short one, as the text of the Book of the Tower is closest to Maruta's notice in length and content! There is no reason therefore, to doubt the reliability of these notices, since each in its own manner bears witness both to the early presence of many "heretical" groups in Syria and Mesopotamia and to the existence of an enumeration of them, which may be placed in the time of or before Maruta of Maipherkat. The spuriousness of the Acts of Nicea ascribed to him has therefore no consequences for the heretical catalogue.

The next author to claim our attention is Jacob of Edessa (about 633-708), who in his twelfth letter to the stylite Joḥannan of Litharb gives a number of particulars regarding sects of Edessa, in reply to an anxious inquiry from the pious stylite about the second Hymn contra Haereses of Ephrem Syrus and the sects mentioned there, particularly the Quqites, who are unknown to him. Jacob writes as follows:

Now since you have also questioned your brother regarding Quq and the Quqites, I inform you of the following: five sects originated and came forth from the accursed heresy of Valentinus and each of these separately has added to and made alterations in this his heresy, more than his predecessors, viz. Valentinus, Marcion, Quq, Bardaiṣan and Mani... The sect of Quq, which is called the Quqites after him and which made many alterations, also proceeded from the adherents of Valentinus.<sup>29)</sup>

Later Jacob himself corrects his statements and explicitly declares that the Bardesanites and the Manichaeans have nothing to do with Valentinus; for the Quqites this remark requires further examination. Jacob of Edessa, however, confirms our earlier surmise that the order in which Ephrem names the heresiarchs is chronological, by explicitly

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<sup>29)</sup> Wright, *Journal of Sacred Literature* N. Series, 10, 1867, p. 26, 1.22 seqq (Syriac count); Puech mistakenly speaks of N. Series, 10, 1876 in Hennecke/Schneemelcher, S. 187, Anm. 5.

observing that the activity of these persons was largely consecutive.<sup>30)</sup> Our date of about 160 A.D. has thus a fairly solid foundation.

The longest account of the Quqites, and the one with the most interesting content, is found in the eleventh book of scholia of Theodore bar Khonai (end of the 8th century), who probably lived in Kaškar, a well-known residence of all kinds of "heretical" groups, both Christian and Muslim.<sup>31)</sup> After ten books of scholia on the O.T. and N.T., in the eleventh book Theodore gives a heresiological appendix, containing a survey of the teachings of the Greek schools of philosophy and related trends such as Orphism,<sup>32)</sup> of the teachings of Zoroaster<sup>33)</sup> and of those of a great number of in part unknown heretical groups, particularly gnostical ones. For the groups he did not know, Theodore made use of the Panarion of Epiphanius and of his *Anakephalaiosis*, although many differences may be observed between the notices of Epiphanius and those of Theodore: it is clear that the literary history of the matter is rather more complicated. Research into the sources of the eleventh book of scholia is surely very desirable.<sup>34)</sup> For his information about the groups in Syria and Mesopotamia, Theodore usually makes use of authentic sources, as a rule writings of the group itself, which he excerpts and then jeeringly comments upon. Something of the same kind is seen in his notices about the Manichaeans and Mandaeans, whom he calls Kantaeans and Dostaeans, while it is extremely probable for the Bardesanesites.<sup>35)</sup> In the text of Theodore an authentic quotation can usually

30) Wright, *art. cit.* p. 27 (Syriac count).

31) It lay in Chinese Turkestan, a refuge for Nestorians (such as Theodore was himself, Manichaeans and many other zindiqs).

32) cf. A. Baumstark, "Griechische Philosophen und ihre Lehren in syrischer Ueberlieferung", *OC*, 5, 1905, SS. 1-25.

33) E. Benveniste, "Le témoignage de Théodore bar Kōnay sur le zoroastrisme", *Le Monde Oriental*, 21, 1932, pp. 170-215 and R. C. Zaehner, *Zurvan. A Zoroastrian Dilemma*, Oxford 1955, pp. 441 f.

34) Pognon, *o.c.*, p. (106) voices the supposition that Theodore made use of an extremely poor Syriac translation of the *Anakephalaiosis*, but many notices about sects are to be found neither in that, nor in the *Panarion*; here and there, *e.g.* in the notice about Simon Magus, influence of the Pseudo-Clementines may be seen.

35) cf. F. Cumont, *Recherches sur le Manichéisme I*, La cosmogonie manichéenne, Bruxelles 1908, *passim*; H. H. Schaeder, "Ein Lied von Mani", *OLZ*, 29, 1926, Kol. 104-107; K. Rudolph, *Die Mandäer I*, FRLANT, 74, Göttingen 1960, SS. 31 ff.; Drijvers, *o.c.*, pp. 113 ff. In the work of Theodore Puech found



be recognised by expressions such as "they say" or "they relate". These quotations, however, do not form a consecutive account; Theodore has gathered those best suited to his purpose, their demolition. Especially the cosmological conceptions fascinated him. That is no wonder, for cosmology, in which soteriology is implied, was the **great** matter of controversy between Christians and Muslims on the one hand and "heretics", zindiqs, on the other. Undoubtedly this was due to the wide spread of Manichaeism, which persisted until late times. Ephrem Syrus in his Prose Refutations already combated Marcionites, Bardesanes and Manichaeans particularly upon this point, and this set of the three great heresies forms a regular and stereotype element in Muslim heresiological writings also.<sup>36)</sup>

Theodore bar Khonai relates of the Quqites:

They say that God was born out of the sea, that is that (sea) which lies in the empire of light and they call this the "wakeful sea" (or: **angelic sea**)<sup>37)</sup> and say that the sea of light and the earth existed before God. Now when God was born from the "wakeful sea" (or: angelic sea), he sat upon the waters, looked upon them and saw his own image in them. He stretched forth his hand and seized it. It was a spouse to him, he had intercourse with her and procreated many gods and goddesses with her. They call her Mother of Life and say that she formed seventy worlds (Aeons) and twelve rulers.

Furthermore they assert that at some distance from this god, who was born from the "wakeful sea", there was something like a dead image, that is a statue without movement or life, without an idea or the faculty of thought. When god had seen that this was ugly and horrible and when this did not make a good impression on him, he conceived the plan of removing it from there and throwing it from him, but then he bethought himself: 'Since there is no life therein nor faculty of thinking nor thought to be able to wage war with me and there is not any inducement to badness found in it, it is not just that I should drive it from here. But I shall give it of my own strength and of my own movement and thought and then it will declare war upon me!'

They say that he instructed the aeons to develop the flame of love and they poured forth part of their life and emitted it into this bad statue. That image now turned its soul and thought upon making war with them.

And they say that the adherents of the party of Good fought forty-two battles with it. And the more the number of battles increased, the more carnal

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fragments of an apocalypse, the Coptic text of which has now perhaps come to light in Nag Hammadi, Puech, "Fragments retrouvés de l'Apocalypse d'Allogène", *Mélanges Franz Cumont*, Bruxelles 1936, pp. 935-962.

36) cf. G. Vajda, "Le témoignage d'al-Māturidī sur la doctrine des Manichéens, des Dayśānites et des Marcionites", *Arabica*, 13, 1966, pp. 1-38; pp. 113-128.

37) The Syriac word *cjr* means "vigilans" or as substantive "angelus", cf. Brockelmann, *Lexicon Syriacum*, p. 523; cf. R. M. Tonneau, *Sancti Ephraem Syri*

forces were born, that is wild animals and cattle and creeping things of the earth...

Once, they relate, that Mother of Life descended to this statue, accompanied by seven virgins. When she had arrived there, it raised itself up and blew upon her. Its breath penetrated into her genitals, she became unclean and did not return to the dwelling of the gods, her companions. She remained for seven days in a condition of impurity and cast the seven virgins who accompanied her into the mouth of that great cavern.<sup>38</sup>) This swallowed them up during the seven days of the uncleanness of the Mother of Life, who threw him one of them every day. Now the gods were forced to come and save the seven virgins, whom the Mother of Life had cast into the gullet of that great cavern.

They say that the adherents of the party of Evil at set times celebrate a feast, cause these virgins to come forth and give them to their sons, and ornament themselves with the light deriving from them. That then the adherents of the party of good, their betrothed ones, descend on the day of the feast and that each of them carries off his betrothed.

They also say that the coming of our Lord to the world was for no other reason than the saving of his betrothed, who was here. They say that He carried her off and rose up from the Jordan and saw that the daughter of the Mother of Life... from Egypt. They assert regarding the other virgins that one is in Hatra, another in Mabbug and still another in Harran. Their betrothed look down on them, and when their time is come, they liberate them.

So far Theodore bar Khonai on the teachings of the Quqites, which concludes the known sources.<sup>39</sup>)

Apart from the statements of Ephrem Syrus and Jacob of Edessa, which are only of importance for dating the group of the Quqites, the tradition falls into two distinct parts. On one side the related notices of Maruta of Maipherkat, Barḥadbešabba ʿArbaia and Abū ʾl-Barakāt and the notice in the preface of the apocryphal Nicean Acts, on the other the account of Theodore bar Khonai with all its discrepancies. A solution of the problem thus arising may be sought in various ways. One of the branches of tradition may be dismissed as unreliable, or Theodore's notice may be regarded as representing a later development within the group of the Quqites, developed from a "system" as it is rendered by Maruta *et al.* There are sound reasons, however, for not regarding Theodore's notice as a later development, but as a facet of the original system. Also for Bardesanites and

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in *Genesim et in Exodum commentarii*, CSCO Vol. 153 (*versio*), Vol. 152 (*textus*), p. 24, L. 4-5 (*versio*), p. 32, L. 8-9 (*textus*): Vir (*i.e.* Adam) vigil (<sup>cjr</sup>), quia splendore unctus, et quid sit somnus hucusque nesciens ...

38) *cf.* however Th. Nöldeke, *WZKM*, 12, S. 359.

39) text after Pognon, *o.c.*, pp. 144sv.

Manichaeans Theodore bar Khonai supplies information about their original myths, and not about later developments, which did occur, particularly among the Bardesanites. Obviously Theodore had at his disposal a great number of authentic texts of early date,<sup>40)</sup> so that it becomes doubly important to seek for the sources of the eleventh book of scholia. Thus our obvious course is to confront the two traditions, bearing in mind that the first intends to give a summary of the doctrine and life of the Quqites without extensive discussion of their cosmology, which indeed does not appear in the other notices of Maruta either, whereas Theodore bar Khonai quotes from Quqite writings without attempting systematisation. It is not too bold a conclusion, then, that the two branches of tradition supplement one another.

There are at the same time a number of links between the two traditions which may support this hypothesis. While the first branch of the tradition (Maruta etc.) speaks of many special rules for ritual purity among the Quqites, there is a corresponding strong emphasis in the account of Theodore bar Khonai on the uncleanness of the Mother of Life, arising from the breath of evil, which makes it impossible for her to return to the world of the gods. It is this very uncleanness and its consequences which start a process of salvation, which clearly is not yet completed. The Quqites will therefore need to preserve a certain state of purity if they wish to participate in salvation. The striking combination of Jewish-Samaritan prescripts of purity, according to the tradition, with a "gnostic" concept of pure and impure is another matter, to which we shall return presently. There is another trait in the account of Theodore bar Khonai which reminds us of the Samaritans, or rather of the Samaritan Simon Magus. He came as the "great power" to save Helen.<sup>41)</sup> Now it is highly probable that this prostitute Helen finds her prototype in the cult of Helen, the sister of the Dioscuri, who was worshipped in Samaria as goddess of the earth and the moon.<sup>42)</sup> Even if Helen did not originally belong to the Simonian gnostic system, the fact remains

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40) cf. n. 35.

41) cf. Bousset, *Hauptprobleme*, SS. 261 ff. and E. Haenchen, "Gab es eine vorchristliche Gnosis", *Gott und Mensch*. Gesammelte Aufsätze, Tübingen 1965, SS. 265 ff.

42) cf. L.-H. Vincent, "Le culte d'Hélène à Samarie", *RB*, 45, 1936, pp. 221-232; G. Quispel, "Simon en Helena", *NTT*, 5, 1950-51, pp. 339-345; *idem*, *Gnosis als Weltreligion*, Zürich 1951, SS. 45-70, esp. SS. 62 ff.

that she afterwards occupied an important and attractive place in it for the followers of Simon.<sup>43)</sup> In Theodore's report we find the combination of the *μεγάλη δύναμις*, whose incarnation Simon was, and the divine maiden delivered to impurity enlarged sevenfold, when he tells us that the divine "betrothed" descend to earth at set times to save one of the maidens. One of these "betrothed" was Jesus of Nazareth, a son of god incarnate, come to carry off his female partner. Thus we find the Simonian trait of "gnostic" reinterpretation of older mythological events equally among the Quqites. Now if Abû 'l-Barakât relates that the Quqites have no objection to their wives being used by any stranger who happens along, this is directly connected with Theodore's notice about the virgins and their "betrothed ones". Any stranger may be a son of god, sent out to save his virgin, who again may be incarnated in any woman; even the divine Epinoia finally landed in a brothel in Tyre, frequented by the stranger Simon from Samaria!

Even the traditional scandal supplied by Barḥadbešabba, that Quq was turned out of the church because he put his supposed Oedipus-complex into practice, may be connected with the notice of Theodore bar Khonai, who tells us that the supreme god was born from the sea of light, from which his wife, the Mother of Life, also came forth. The Mother of Life is always mother, wife and daughter in one,<sup>43a)</sup> which makes the proceeding of the heresiarch Quq slightly more comprehensible. Barḥadbešabba's accusation of astrology, however, is more solidly supported by Theodore's account, when he relates that the Father and Mother of Life produce many gods and goddesses; Bardaišan places these last in an astrological setting and even compares Father and Mother with Sun and Moon (*cf.* Henena-Selene), so that something of the kind with the Quqites is not to be dismissed in advance. Moreover, Bardaišan is named by Barḥadbešabba as one of those from whom Quq had borrowed; it must not be forgotten that the patres often made the same mistake as the "religionsgeschichtliche Schule", which also at once assumed borrowing whenever conceptions were found to be alike.

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43) This is the thesis of Quispel, "Simon en Helena" and with some reservation also of Haenchen, *art. cit.*, S. 290 f.

43a) *cf.* Bousset, *Hauptprobleme*, S. 337, who has continually drawn attention to this.

In any case, there are so many points of contact between the two branches of the tradition, that we are justified in regarding them as of equal value, and supplementary to each other. On the basis of the whole tradition, a partial reconstruction of the doctrine of Quq and the Quqites has come within the reach of possibility.

*The teachings of the Quqites*

Since every cosmological statement is anthropologically determined, reflecting a particular outlook upon man and the world, it is methodically indicated to begin with the notice of Theodore bar Khonai. The soteriological passage at the end of it forms the required link with the information about the rules for purity of the Quqites and their sexual practices, which also demonstrate a particular outlook upon the life of man.

In the beginning there existed the light-world, also called the "wakeful sea" (or: angelic sea) and the sea of light, and its antipole the earth. The expression "wakeful sea" can be elucidated by its contrast "sleeping": waking and being awakened belongs to the world of the divine, the world of light, whence life comes, while sleeping is as a rule a metaphor for sinking down into matter.<sup>44)</sup> It is explicitly stated that the light-world and the earth existed before God, who was born from the life-giving sea of light. This God sat down upon the waters and saw his own image in them, a female shape, the Mother of Life, with whom he produced many gods and goddesses. Here we have, then, a certain form of the Narcissus motif.<sup>45)</sup> The god born from the light-world is clearly androgynous; by his "redoubling" in the mirror of the water, the female element is as it were split off, which before was contained within him. It should be remarked that in the Gospel of Mary, a writing of the Barbelo-agnostics, and in the Apocryphon of John we also find the conception of the Primordial god, the Father of Light, who sees his image in the water of the pure light; this image is his ennoia or pronoia, also called Barbelo, the Mother of Life.<sup>46)</sup> One gains the impression, that speculations regarding the

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44) cf. G. McRae, "Sleep and awakening in gnostic Texts", a paper read at the congress on the origins of Gnosticism, held in Messina in April 1966 (to be published in the Acta); H. Jonas, *Gnosis und spätantiker Geist I*, FRLANT 51, Tübingen <sup>3</sup>1964, SS. 113-115 and register s.v. schlafen, erwachen, Erweckung.

45) cf. H. Jonas, *The gnostic religion*, <sup>2</sup>1963, pp. 161 ff.

46) cf. Bousset, *Hauptprobleme*, SS. 59, 87 ff., 160, 338 ff.; *Apocryphon of*

Spirit of God who moved (or brooded) over the face of the waters, as related in Gen. 1 : 2b, form the background of this image.<sup>47)</sup> For this Spirit is at the same time Wisdom and the Mother, who form or procreate the world. Is perhaps the remark of Barḥadbešabba about Quq having intercourse with the wife of his father to be explained from this angle?

The Father and Mother of Life bring forth seventy worlds or aeons and twelve Potentates or Rulers. Twelve and seven, and consequently seventy also, are astrological numbers indicating the seven planets and the twelve signs of the Zodiac. It is noticeable that we find Bardaišan using exactly the same Syriac terms, while he also calls the heavenly bodies children of the Father and Mother of Life<sup>48)</sup> whom he compares to the sun and moon. The sun then stands for the father-god, the Father of Life, and the moon for the Mother of Life, whose light is derived from the sun. The Mandaeans also have the idea that the twelve signs of the Zodiac are children of the Father and Mother of Life.<sup>49)</sup> In any case, the Quqites concerned themselves with astrology, as Barḥadbešabba also relates, while he also links Quq with Bardaišan. This again affords indirect evidence of the value of the tradition of Maruta, Barḥadbešabba and Abû 'l-Barakat, also with regard to data only supplied by one of them.

Theodore bar Khonai then gives a new quotation from the Quqite cosmology, referring to the existence of a statute, entirely lifeless and without movement, intellection or thought. The image is thus described as a complete contrast to the deity himself. Of the origin of this image nothing is said. After an initial plan to remove the image, God's justice gains the upper hand, and he instructs the aeons to kindle the flame of love and give life to the statue. The image now begins a bitter contest with the aeons; the number of forty-two battles is mentioned, and from this combat there issue wild animals, cattle and

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*John* (ed. Till), 27: 1-5; *Cod. III* (ed. Krause/Labib), 7: 9-14; *Codex II* (ed. Krause/Labib) 4: 22-28; *Codex IV* (ed. Krause/Labib) 6: 25-29.

47) Bousset/Gressmann, *Religion des Judentums*, 31926, SS. 342-350.

48) *Book of the Laws of Countries*, ed. F. Nau, *Patrol. Syriaca I*, 2, col. 568; cf. Drijvers, *Bardaišan*, p. 84 ff.; Ephrem, *CH LV*, 8, 10, cf. Drijvers, *Bardaišan*, pp. 147 f.

49) cf. K. Rudolph, *Theogonie, Kosmogonie und Anthropogonie in den mandäischen Schriften*, FRLANT 88, Göttingen 1965, SS. 169-172. cf. Drijvers, *Bardaišan*, pp. 148 ff.

creeping things of the earth (*cf.* Gen. 1). Various questions arise in trying to interpret this quotation: what is meant by this statue? how do the "carnal forces" arise, as Theodore calls them? Who are the adherents of Good?

H.-Ch. Puech puts this statue on a level with the primordial image of man from the Apocryphon of John, which cannot move because it was formed by the seven evil archons or, in other texts, by the demiurge Jaldabaôth after the image of the supreme god, which the archons saw in the water as a reflection.<sup>50</sup>) Yet the situation, at any rate according to the notice of Theodore, is fundamentally different in the Quqite cosmology. The Apocryphon of John and other gnostic texts deal with the fall of Sophia, Barbelo, whose divine strength passes in part to Jaldabaôth. When the latter, with the other evil archons, has formed the image of man, this does not move and only acquires movement and life when the αὐτογενής and the four lights induce the demiurge to blow the strength of the Mother into the face of the image, after the repentant Mother herself has besought the Father partly to undo her fault by this means. In the Quqite myth there is no question yet of the fall of Sophia, which will follow later, nor of Jaldabaôth and the evil archons; on the contrary, the aeons possess divine strength because of their origin from Father and Mother both, and from considerations of divine justice they are instructed to give life to the dead statue, without being induced to do so by a divine stratagem. While there is, then, a measure of formal resemblance between the Quqite myth and the story in the Apocryphon of John, the specific gnostic touch (in the sense of Gnosticism) is lacking in the myth of the Quqites, or at least does not enter till later, when we hear of the uncleanness of the Mother of life. Moreover, the Apocryphon of John lacks the motif of battle, which for the Quqites is the direct cause of the originating of the living creatures on earth.

Yet in spite of these differences, the statue may well make us think

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50) Puech, in Hennecke/Schneemelcher I, S. 237, where all the relevant texts are mentioned; K. Rudolph examined them in "Ein Grundtyp gnostischer Urmensch-Adam-Spekulation", *ZRGG*, 9, 1957, SS. 1-20; *cf.* also S. Giversen, *Apocryphon Johannis*. The Coptic Text of the Apocryphon Johannis in the Nag Hammadi Codex II with Transl., Introd. and Commentary. Acta Theol. Danica V, Copenhagen 1963, pp. 238-259.

of Adam the Primal Man, who is at the same time the macro-cosmos from which everything comes forth. If the first quotation from the Quqite cosmology seems to contain speculations based on Gen. 1, it is probable that the image to which the aeons give life at God's command indicates Adam, who immediately afterwards begins the revolt against God as related in Genesis. Adam is at the same time the image of the macro-cosmos, in which all living creatures on earth are contained.<sup>51)</sup> The great stress upon the justice of God also points in this direction, as justice is only shown to men, in this case Adam. According to the Quqite myth, man shares strength, movement and thought with God, after whose image he is, after all, created, and for that reason he can revolt against him and wage war. The adherents of the party of Good are in this context the aeons and the twelve rulers, who as children of God wage the battle with Adam. It is noticeable that the description of the way the aeons pour out their life into the image has a definite sexual tinge and reminds one of the Manichaean myth of the tempting of the archons.<sup>52)</sup>

The result of the battle is a choice array of animals which populate the world, showing a strong aversion to animal life, which has a low origin.<sup>53)</sup> The general aspect betrays a particular conception of man, who can do nothing without divine strength and so becomes a rebel, which clearly points in the direction of Judaism.<sup>54)</sup> The aversion to wild and creeping creatures also points that way.<sup>55)</sup> The dualism characterising this passage is therefore ethical, and not a cosmic dualism of the contrast between God and matter.

Tradition reports unanimously that the Quqites preserved the Old Testament integrally, in contrast with the New. This may agree very well with the above. Obviously the Quqites read the O.T. in a

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51) cf. Bousset, *Hauptprobleme*, S. 207; Doresse, *Les livres secrets*, p. 232, 275, note 90.

52) cf. G. Widengren, *Mani und der Manichäismus*, Stuttgart 1961, SS. 60-62; Widengren sees the origin of this conception in Zervanism and with the Sabians of Harran; in the Syrian world, then, we find a "Vorstufe" of this myth.

53) This is also Manichaean, cf. Widengren, *Mani*, S. 98.

54) cf. Bousset/Gressmann, *Religion des Judentums*, SS. 402 ff.

55) e.g. Test. Naphtali 8, where it is stated that the wild animals are the instruments of the Evil one; cf. Bousset/Gressmann, *Religion des Judentums*, SS. 334 ff., 516; Bousset/Gressmann see an Iranian influence here. The motif of battle may also be of Iranian origin, as e.g. Widengren, *Mani*, SS. 52 ff.



"gnosticising" manner, especially Genesis 1, which also appears in other phenomena within Judaism or its Samaritan branch.<sup>56)</sup>

The second part of Theodore bar Khonai's account relates the fortunes of the Mother of Life who, accompanied by seven virgins, descended to the aforesaid image, that is to the world of man. With a sexual tinge (*cf.* the aeons and the statue), it is then related how the Mother is defiled by the image, which makes her return to the world of the gods impossible. She then sacrifices the seven virgins by throwing them into a great cavern, one every day, during the seven days of her uncleanness. Part of the divine light is thus abandoned to the human world, which treats it in an unseemly manner. The seven virgins, however, have seven divine betrothed, who are thus really their brothers, who at set times come to save them, until all the particles of light have been taken back to the light-world. Jesus of Nazareth is one of them, who saved his virgin when he ascended from out of the Jordan. The other maidens are in Hatra, Mabbug and Harran. The text of all MSS of Theodore's book is corrupt here, so that an uncertainty remains; possibly one of the maidens is in Egypt. In any case, we do not know them all.<sup>57)</sup>

As already pointed out, this quotation strongly reminds us of the Simonian gnosis, in which also the fall of Sophia, "Frau Idee", takes a central place.<sup>58)</sup> The Quqites, however, do not speak of one virgin, but of seven, who reside in important cult centres, where they are misused by the "ordinary" people, the adherents of the party of evil, in order to possess themselves of their light particles, according to the Quqite interpretation. One is again reminded of the adventures of Helen before she finally landed in Tyre, but also of temple prostitution, which played a part in the cult of various goddesses in Asia Minor and Mesopotamia.<sup>59)</sup> Just as Helen is saved by Simon, who

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56) *cf.* Bousset/Gressmann, *Religion des Judentums*, SS. 442 ff. and the speculations in the Samaritan *Memar Marqa* (ed. Mac Donald).

57) *cf.* Doresse, *Les livres secrets*, p. 114 and the literature mentioned on p. 131 sv. Has the text been purposely corrupted here? The French translation of Doresse, taken from Pognon, has a confusing misprint: p. 59: "et il fit que la fille de la Mère de la vie ... (?) ... d'Égypte" should be "et il vit etc..."

58) *cf.* Quispel, *Gnosis als Weltreligion*, SS. 45 ff.; Jonas, *Gnosis und spät-antiker Geist*, SS. 353 ff.

59) *cf.* Bousset, *Hauptprobleme*, S. 72, Anm. 2 and the examples named there from the cult of Syrian goddesses; *cf.* *Wörterbuch der Mythologie I*, Götter und Mythen im Vorderen Orient, Stuttgart 1965, S. 85 (Ištar and Inanna), 231

perhaps masks Melkart,<sup>60)</sup> so all the virgins have a divine saviour. In the case of Mabbug, the reference is undoubtedly to Atargatis, the Dea Syra, with her male companion Hadad.<sup>61)</sup> In Harran the pair may be Ningal and Sin,<sup>62)</sup> while in Hatra again Astarte and Baal may be conjoined. If the text also located a virgin in Egypt, that will certainly be Isis who, Epiphanius informs us, passed part of her life in the same manner as Helen in Tyre.<sup>63)</sup> In the traditional view of Gnosticism, Jesus of Nazareth is the saviour of Sophia.<sup>64)</sup> The number of seven is remarkable and is also found in other texts. In the second book *Ieou* the Mother of Life appears accompanied by seven light-maidens; the famous Wedding song from the apocryphal Acts of Thomas speaks of the Mother with seven bridesmaids and seven bridesmen; the gnostic Gospel of Philip speaks of the mystery of marriage and possibly gives seven as the number of marriages.<sup>65)</sup> The Quqites, then, have attempted to gather in a "Gesamtschau" a number of religious phenomena in the Syrian-Mesopotamian region, in towns of a decidedly pagan character, and to relate them to one another. The various cults, in which a sacred marriage perhaps played a part, become phases in a grand process of salvation, whose aim is to lead back the divine light to its origin. The salvation of the virgins clearly takes the form of marriage with their divine betrothed, and thus the conception of the Bridal Chamber comes into view, which we find in the doctrine of Barḏaiṣan, in the Acts of Thomas, the Gospel of Philip, with the Valentinians, and perhaps with other groups

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(Astarte); Lucianus, *Dea Syra* 6, 9 relates it of Astarte in Byblos; cf. G. Goossens, *Hiérapolis de Syrie*, Louvain 1943, p. 64, 129.

60) cf. Bousset, *Hauptprobleme*, S. 262.

61) cf. Goossens, *Hiérapolis de Syrie*, pp. 57 svv.; F. Cumont, *Les religions orientales dans le paganisme Romain*, 41929, pp. 95 svv.

62) cf. E. Dhorme, *Les religions de Babylonie et d'Assyrie*, Paris 1949, pp. 58-59; 85-86.

63) Epiphanius, *Ancoratus* (ed. Holl), 104, 11; cf. Bousset, *Hauptprobleme*, SS. 81 ff.

64) cf. H. Jonas, *Gnosis und spätantiker Geist*, SS. 359 ff. for a description of the idea in the various systems.

65) *II Ieou*, 45-47, cf. Bousset, *Hauptprobleme*, S. 62; *Acta Thomae* 6 (ed. Lipsius/Bonnet) cf. Preuschen, *Zwei gnostische Hymnen*, Giessen 1904, SS. 40 ff. and Bousset, *Hauptprobleme*, S. 69. *Gospel of Philip* (ed. Till), 112: 30-36; 113: 10-12; cf. E. Segelberg, "The Coptic-Gnostic Gospel according to Philip and its sacramental system", *Numen*, 7, 1960, pp. 189-200 and R. McL. Wilson, *The Gospel of Philip*, London 1962, pp. 118 ff.

also.<sup>66</sup>) This means, that the union of the virgin with her divine betrothed is representative of the union of the fallen soul with its heavenly double, which completes salvation. It has already been remarked that in the Simonian gnosis salvation has really taken place already, so that there is nothing left for man to do.<sup>67</sup>) The Quqites do not have this problem, since some virgins are still unredeemed. We have seen above that the sexual practices of the Quqites, as reported by Abû 'l-Barakât, are directly related to this outlook upon fall and salvation, and indeed these practices are also found with related groups.<sup>68</sup>) Human conduct in this field is thus imitation, renewed enactment of a mythic example, and at the same time a demonstration, a ritual anticipation of salvation. Salvation will be completed when all the virgins have been redeemed. This is the sole aim of the whole history of mankind. Presumably man's history began with the defilement of the Mother of Life, but that is not clear.

A few matters still require further elucidation: the Quqite rules of ritual purity and their gospel. As to the latter, tradition is not unanimous: Maruta of Maipherkat speaks of twelve evangelists with the names of the twelve apostles; Barḥadbešabba speaks of twelve gospels and Abû 'l-Barakât is the only one to speak of a gospel of the twelve apostles. An Ebionite gospel has been suggested in this context, or an unknown gnostic gospel, and H. Waitz has even tried to show that the remark in Maruta's notice should be connected with the astrological gnostic teachings of the Quqites, in which the number twelve plays a certain role.<sup>69</sup>) A gospel of the twelve apostles, for that matter, is also ascribed to the Manichaeans.<sup>70</sup>) It may very well be that the gospel of the twelve apostles has something to do with the place accorded to the twelve signs of the Zodiac Theodore bar Khonai

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66) C. W. Mitchell, *S. Ephraim's Prose Refutations of Mani, Marcion and Bardaisan II*, London 1921, p. LXXVII (transl.), p. 164: 32-40 (Syr. text); cf. Drijvers, *Bardaisan*, p. 151, 152, 160; Widengren, *Mesopotamian Elements*, pp. 109 ff, where a number of texts have been collected, also from Manichaean sources; Bousset, *Hauptprobleme*, SS. 315 f. (about the Marcosians); *Gospel of Philip*, 117: 24; 123: 26 sqq.

67) Haenchen, "Gab es eine vorchristliche Gnosis", S. 290.

68) *int. al.* the Bardesaniens according to Michael Syrus and Agapius of Mabbug, cf. Drijvers, *Bardaisan*, p. 190.

69) cf. Puech in Hennecke/Schneemelcher, SS. 187 f. for an exposition of this matter; H. Waitz, *ZNW*, 14, 1913, S. 46 ff.

70) cf. Puech in Hennecke/Schneemelcher, S. 190 f.

speaks of. Astrology teaches that these twelve signs each rule over a part of the earth. Remembering that the Quqites held to the O.T., in which the number of twelve tribes plays an important part, one might imagine that the twelve apostles, as successors to these tribes, each had part of the world assigned to them. We would then see the same pattern here as in the combining of all kinds of Syrian cults into a whole, and in the way the Quqites treat the biblical story of creation, which they also mixed with autochthonous Syrian elements. A point of particular importance is, that a gospel of the twelve apostles is ascribed both to the Christian Jews in Syria and to Quqites and Manichaeans: this points to a close relationship, particularly in Syria.<sup>71)</sup> Of the content of this gospel nothing is known.

The rules of ritual purity of the Quqites are connected by tradition with the Samaritans, who did indeed hold to Jewish ritual laws, but not so rigorously as is stated here.<sup>72)</sup> Especially dead bodies and diseases of the skin inspire the Quqites with dread, and they keep their distance from them. Abû 'l-Barakât's remark, that they would also not admit people who lacked a hand or were blind or deaf, reminds us of the customs concerning priests: a Jewish or Samaritan priest was required to be entirely whole and sound in body.<sup>73)</sup> A horror of corpses, joined with a denial of the resurrection, is understandable from what Theodore bar Khonai tells us regarding the "dead image", which God found to be ugly and horrible. Everything that is without life, is ugly and horrible and must be avoided. Moreover, this is an indication that the "dead image" is indeed the primordial Adam. It is not impossible that particularly affections of the skin that resemble decomposition are avoided for that reason, but no certainty can be obtained on this point.

These are the outlines, then, in so far as the sources enable us to sketch them, of a sect in Edessa in the second century A.D. that was mostly unknown until now. Of its history we know nothing whatever,

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71) The Manichaeans or Mani himself borrowed their knowledge of books of the Bible and apocrypha from the Syrian Christians and the Christianised Jews, and they thus became acquainted with the *Gospel of Thomas* and the *Acta Thomae*.

72) cf. for this Bousset/Gressmann, *Religion des Judentums*, S. 199 f., 458-460; *Berakot* 47b and Moore, *Judaism I*, p. 25; see also Lev. 13.

73) cf. Lev. 21, 22, where it is ordained that priests may have no blemish, may not touch dead bodies, etc. Did the Quqites consider these Levitical rules applicable to themselves?

though it was clearly still active in Ephrem's time, if only on a small scale. After that we lose every trace. Perhaps they disappeared in the melting-pot of Manichaeans, Mandaeans and Bardesanites, which cannot always be clearly distinguished in Syria. We now still have to give a characterisation of Quq and his followers in the midst of those groups, largely gnostic ones, which were active in the second century.

*The Quqites in the setting of their time*

When A. von Harnack characterised the Quqites in 1899, he called them the earliest Christian sect of Edessa, who as gnostic Christian Jews confronted the Bardesanites, who represented the Christianity of the Gentiles.<sup>74)</sup> Harnack based this characterisation on the notice in the catalogue of Maruta. A. Schmidtke, following after Bousset, characterises them as representatives of the earliest Syrian Gnosticism of a pagan kind, consisting of a mixture of Persian, Babylonian, Old Testament, and Christian conceptions. This pronouncement Schmidtke based solely on the notice of Theodore bar Khonai, which he had found in the work of Bousset.<sup>75)</sup> However, if different facets of the same group are illustrated by the two branches of tradition, then these generalising pronouncements cannot be maintained in their antithetic tendency. It is very much to be doubted, whether the contrast between Christians of Jewish and of gentile extraction was indeed so vivid and was so acutely felt in the second century. A piece taken from the work of Bardaišan, the gentile Christian, was given a place in one of the principal literary works of Jewish Christendom, the pseudo-Clementines.<sup>76)</sup> It really seems impossible to work with contrasts between Christian Jews, Christian Gentiles and Gnostics in this century and in this town. The complex character of the Quqite doctrines and myths may serve as illustration.

In the first place we found certain resemblances with Bardesanite conceptions, that is to say with the Father and Mother of Life who bring forth divine children, including the planets, whose function is not considered to be negative. Probably these Quqite conceptions can even consolidate the connection between the fragments of Bardaišan's

74) Harnack, *Der Ketzer-Katalog des Bischofs Maruta von Maipherkat*, S. 10.

75) Schmidtke, *Neue Fragmente und Untersuchungen zu den judenchristlichen Evangelien*, S. 174.

76) cf. for this matter Drijvers, *Bardaišan*, pp. 60 ff.

hymns preserved by Ephrem Syrus and the rest of his teachings. The idea of the planets as children of the gods, we find indeed in the Book of the Laws of Countries, while the train of thought in this book is usually regarded as in contradiction with Bardaišan's views as Ephrem Syrus renders them.<sup>77)</sup> The two combined are found with the Quqites, whom tradition connects with Bardaišan.

In the second place there are lines connecting the Quqites with the Christianised Jews, since they maintain the Old Testament as it stands, which does not preclude basing speculations upon it; we find the same in the Pseudo-Clementines.<sup>78)</sup> The rigorous rules of purity, understandable from the cosmological and anthropological views of the Quqites, may perhaps also constitute a pointer towards Christian Jewry. Tradition connects these rules with the Samaritans, where possibly Gnosticism has one of its sources.<sup>79)</sup> Relationship is clearly to be discerned with the Simonian Gnosis, which may have become known in Edessa through the activities of Saturnilus and Menander, who worked in Syria.<sup>80)</sup> The difference is, however, that Simon linked his system with one existing cult in Samaria, while the Quqites gathered many cults in the Syrian-Mesopotamian region, largely identical in form and concept, into a single creed, and included Christianity. Therefore one cannot say whether the sect was Christian or not, nor whether it was Jewish. It is Jewish with pagan and Christian elements, pagan with Jewish and Christian elements, etc. The same complexity is found with Bardaišan. An example is the conception of the seven saviours. On the one hand this connects the Quqites with the Jewish Christian circles of the Pseudo-Clementines with its series of prophets who succeed one another,<sup>81)</sup> on the other with the idea of the cyclical

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77) cf. Drijvers, *Bardaišan*, pp. 84-86.

78) cf. H. J. Schoeps, *Theologie und Geschichte des Judenchristentums*, Tübingen 1949, SS. 117 ff.; *idem*, *Aus frühchristlicher Zeit*. Religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen, Tübingen 1950, SS. 1 ff.: Die Urgeschichte nach den Pseudoklementinen.

79) cf. H. J. Schoeps, *ThLZ*, 1956, Sp. 418 and Rudolph, „*Ein Grundtyp*“, S. 19. It is noticeable that the Jewish Christians had strict rules of purity, including a prohibition to eat meat, cf. Schoeps, *Theologie und Geschichte*, SS. 188 ff.; also Daniélou, *Théologie du Judéo-Christianisme I*, Tournai 1958, pp. 82 svv. points to Samaria.

80) cf. Leisegang, *Die Gnosis*, SS. 103-110.

81) cf. Bousset, *Hauptprobleme*, SS. 172 f.; Schoeps, *Theologie und Geschichte*, SS. 98-116.

appearance of the messenger of light, which appears in Manichaeism, but also in the Coptic gnostic writings of Chenoboskion.<sup>82)</sup> With this latter group there are more parallels: the conception of the "dead image" of the primordial Adam; the image of the "Bridal-Chamber", which we find in the Gospel of Philip and with which certain sacraments may have been connected.<sup>83)</sup> Denial of the resurrection is a general gnostic trait, even going beyond the limits of Gnosticism, if such limits can be defined, but in the library of Chenoboskion the *Epistula ad Rheginum* is explicitly devoted to this theme. It also contains clear parallels with Bardesanite teachings, thus more or less completing the circle. If we remember, too, that the idea of the "Bridal-Chamber" is also found with Bardaisan, as it is in the wedding hymn of the *Acta Thomae*, where again the Mother appears with seven virgins and seven sons (bridesmen), the unity in diversity of the many different groups is even more clearly illuminated.<sup>84)</sup>

In spite of all resemblances with gnostic or half-gnostic systems of the second century, we must seriously enquire whether the Quqite creed belongs to the Gnosis or not. If the defilement of the Mother of Life, of which her daughters become victims, really does represent the fall of the anima, then we have to do here with a definitely gnostic system. The anti-cosmic dualism, however, is not yet fully developed: the figure of the evil demiurge is lacking; the planetary powers have not yet descended to the level of wicked archons, but are still helpers of God and constitute his army. Jewish, and possibly Iranian, is the idea that evil comes from man, since it is he who defiles the Mother (*cf.* Eve, who is defiled and violated by the archons); the world of man is divided into two groups, those who adhere to evil and those who adhere to good, that is to say the budding dualism is still ethically determined, hence the elaborate ethical system of purity of the Quqites! Neither is the creation of the world due to a fall of the deity: both the heavenly world of light and the earth existed from the beginning! Yet

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82) *cf.* K. Rudolph, "Gnosis und Manichäismus nach den koptischen Quellen", *Wissensch. Zeitschr. d. M.-Luther Univ. Halle-Wittenberg*, Sonderheft 1965: *Koptologische Studien in der DDR*, SS. 174 ff. and the literature and texts listed there.

83) Thus Bousset, *Hauptprobleme*, SS. 315 ff. and E. Segelberg, *art. cit.*

84) The present author hopes shortly to publish a study on the connections and relationship of the Bardesanian doctrine with the gnostic writings of Chenoboskion.

it is clear that we have here one of the "Vorstufen" from which the elaborate gnostic systems of, for instance, the Apocryphon of John, Manichaeism and the Barbelo-gnostics were developed. This implies that further examination is required of the relationship between the gnostic writings from the library of Chenoboskion and the Syrian-Mesopotamian region; for at any rate part of them a Syrian origin is practically certain.<sup>85)</sup> In that case the sect of the Quqites helped to form the substratum and milieu, in which this Gnosticism developed. The relations between the Coptic gnostic writings and Manichaeism would then come a little more into the light of history, and also the connections between this form of Gnosticism and the Mandaeans.<sup>86)</sup> A further implication would be that Gnosticism is not in origin a specifically Christian phenomenon, although Christian elements may be fitted into it. The part contributed by Judaism is decidedly greater, though this does not mean that Gnosticism can be traced back to a single root in heterodox (or orthodox) Judaism.<sup>87)</sup> Ultimately it is an entity sui generis, to which all the religions around the Eastern basin of the Mediterranean have contributed, while its character cannot be entirely explained from one or more of those religions.<sup>87a)</sup>

Quqite Gnosticism is often regarded as Valentiniianism; it is much the same with the Bardesanian doctrine.<sup>88)</sup> It is obvious at first sight

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85) cf. note 3 and also A. Böhlig, *Der jüdische und judenchristliche Hintergrund in gnostischen Texten von Nag Hammadi*, a paper read at the congress in Messina (to be published in the *Acta*) and *idem*, "Die Adamapokalypse aus Codex V von Nag Hammadi als Zeugnis jüdisch-iranischer Gnosis", *Oriens Christianus*, 48, 1964, SS. 44-49; cf. K. Rudolph, "Gnosis und Manichäismus", SS. 177 f.

86) Both probably drew upon the same fund of ideas and images that were current in Syria. Säve-Söderberg's research into the relations of the Mandaean and the Manichaean psalms should be continued, now that more texts are becoming available; for the *Gospel of Philip* J. E. Ménard, *L'Evangile selon Philippe*, Montreal/Paris 1964, adduced very many Manichaean conceptions in explanation.

87) Jonas has rightly pointed out more than once that Gnosticism is strongly anti-Jewish; Gnosticism is an entity sui generis, for the building of which the whole "Umwelt" supplied material, but the sum is greater than the parts of which it is composed, and displays an outlook upon man and the world of an entirely individual kind.

87a) cf. Th. P. van Baaren, "Towards a definition of gnosticism", a paper read at the congress on the origins of Gnosticism (to be published in the *Acta*).

88) Thus Eusebius, Epiphanius, Augustine and others about Bardaisan; cf. Drijvers, *Bardaisan*, pp. 167-185.



that the differences with Valentinianism as described by Irenaeus, are too great for this attribution to be maintained. On the one side the name of Valentinus came to stand for the archetype of heresy, which may sufficiently explain that the Quqites are assigned to his school, on the other there is yet a measure of truth in it. These comparatively simple forms of Syrian Gnosticism formed the basis and the material upon which and from which Valentinus created his mystico-rationalistic system; it has long been clear that Valentinianism was an aristocratic shoot from a middle-class or plebeian stock. As a natural result, all kinds of gnostic groups which have preserved the material which Valentinus drew upon for his system, are given the name of Valentinianism.<sup>89)</sup> E. Peterson's former discussions of the relations between Mandaeans and Valentinians thus acquire a fresh interest, though in a slightly different sense than Peterson intended.<sup>90)</sup>

The variegated picture of second-century Edessa has become even more varied and complex, now that the Quqites also demand their place in it. Yet this increased complexity also offers the possibility of a better clarification of the whole, while the threads that meet in Edessa or go out from it may perhaps be more clearly distinguished in their historical intercrossing. The town was a meeting-place of different cultures, and thus afforded suitable nourishment to gnostic or semi-gnostic groups.<sup>91)</sup> The unknown sect of the Quqites may help to illustrate this, being itself both a symptom and product thereof.

89) cf. Jonas, *Gnosis und spätantiker Geist I*, SS. 358-362.

90) E. Peterson "Urchristentum und Mandäismus", *ZNW*, 27, 1928, SS. 55-98.

91) cf. G. Widengren, *Iranisch-semitische Kulturbegegnung in parthischer Zeit*, Köln/Opladen 1960, SS. 51 ff., Drijvers, *Bardaišan*, pp. 214-217 and the literature listed there, and J. Neusner, *A History of the Jews in Babylonia I*, The Parthian Period, *Studia Post-Biblica IX*, Leiden 1965, pp. 166-169.

# RUDOLF OTTO, LEBEN UND WERK

VON

R. BOEKE

*Rotterdam*

Vor dreissig Jahren ist ein Religionsforscher heimgegangen, dessen Name noch immer in Ehrerbietung genannt wird: Rudolf Otto. Meistens geschieht das bei der Erwähnung seines bekannten Werkes „Das Heilige“, das, in mehr als dreissig Auflagen erschienen, immer wieder diejenigen erstaunen lässt, die sich darein vertiefen. Oft aber vergisst man, dass grosse Persönlichkeiten nicht nur in einer einzigen Leistung aufgehen, sondern aus ihrem ganzen Hintergrunde, ihren weiteren Schriften und Beziehungen verstanden werden sollten. Daher ist es angebracht, einmal Näheres über Leben und Arbeit dieses Marburger Religionskenners vorzulegen, um seine weltumfassende Schau zu erhellen, die ihn instandsetzte, die erhabensten Figuren aus der Welt der Religionen zu vergleichen, ihr Wesen und ihre Geisteswirkungen abzuschätzen. Insbesondere wird seine Arbeit im Bezug auf seinen religiösen Sinne betrachtet, um darauf hinzuweisen, wie in seinem Erleben und Denken die Divination eine entscheidende Bedeutung hatte.

Rudolf Louis Karl Otto wurde am 25 September 1869 im 11 Uhr geboren in Peine (Hannover).<sup>1)</sup> Er war das vorletzte Kind einer grossen Familie. Von beiden Eltern her war er niedersächsischer Herkunft. Sein Grossvater mütterlicherseits war Organist und Schulmeister. In seinen Stammbaum findet man bis zum 17. Jahrhundert Fabrikanten, obwohl man vielleicht Pfarrer erwarten würde. Auch sein Vater, Wilhelm Otto, besass eine Fabrik. Seine Mutter Katharine Karoline Henriette Reupke war 18 Jahre jünger als ihr Gatte und hatte die Verantwortung für Rudolfs Erziehung bald allein zu tragen. Als dieser zwölf Jahre alt war, starb sein Vater. Seiner Mutter widmete er zu ihrem 70. Geburtstag im Jahre 1898 seine Doktorarbeit („Die Anschauung des Heiligen Geistes bei Luther“).

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1) Auf seiner Taufbescheinigung steht sein bekannter Name 'Rudolf' hinter den beiden anderen Vornamen.

Über Ottos eigene Bildung enthält das Archiv mit seinem Nachlass in Marburg an der Lahn einige Angaben, die Auskunft geben über seine Person und seine Qualitäten. In seiner 'Vita zum 1. Examen', die er während des Wintersemesters 1891/92 in Göttingen abfasste, berichtet er: „Im engen Kreise der Familie der nächsten Verwandten und Freunde unter schlicht bürgerlichen und kleinstädtischen Verhältnissen bin ich aufgewachsen“. Dann teilt er weiter mit, wie schon in seiner ersten Schulzeit der Wunsch bei ihm erwachte, Pastor zu werden, sowie ein lebendiges Interesse für alles, was Kirche und Theologie anging. Von einem römisch-katholischen Schulkameraden liess er sich über seinen Heiligen erzählen, worin sich schon seine Aufmerksamkeit für das Religiöse in anderen Konfessionen zeigt. Er wird 1884 in der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche konfirmiert.

Inzwischen war man umgezogen nach Hildesheim, wo er das 'Gymnasium Andreanum' besuchte. In Februar 1888 wurde er mit dem Reifezeugnis entlassen. Die Schulzeit war nicht sehr erfreulich für ihn. Er hatte damals wenig Freunde. Bücher vielerlei Art waren seine besten Kameraden, später besonders der historische, speziell der englische Roman. Seine Lieblingsfächer waren Deutsch, Lateinischer Aufsatz und Physik. Was seinen Religionsunterricht angeht, so erhielt er das folgende Zeugnis: „In der Religionslehre hat er sich mit dem Inhalt der Heiligen Schrift, den Glaubenslehren nach ihrem Zusammenhange und ihrer biblischen Begründung, wie mit den Bekenntnisschriften der Lutherischen Kirche eingehend bekannt gemacht. Demnach erhält er das Prädikat: Gut“.

In Hebräisch bekam er diese Auszeichnung: „er vermag auch einen etwas schwierigen Abschnitt (schon) ohne Hilfe zu übersetzen“.

Selbst schreibt er aber, dass der Unterricht in der Religion in allen Klassen so traurig war, dass er unmöglich Lieblingsfach werden konnte. „Doch blieb mir die Sache immer lieb und wert, und wurde es noch mehr durch den Gegensatz, den ich früh genug zu erleben hatte: noch Kinder stritten wir begeistert und erbittert genug über Gottes Sohnschaft und Schöpfungsbericht, über Darwinismus und Urzeugung, und ich wartete sehnlich auf die Zeit, wo ich alle diese Probleme gründlich studieren könnte. Denn mein Kinderwunsch war inzwischen Entschluss (mit Billigung der Meinen) geworden: Ich wollte Theologie studieren. In Schule, Kirche und Haus war ich ... in den Formen der herkömmlichen Strenggläubigkeit erzogen worden und diese Weise

des Glaubens schien mir nicht nur die beste, sondern die einzige ... Nun hörten wir schon in der Schule von Neuerungen und Neuerern, die in die Theologie grundstürzend eindringen: durch ihre Methoden blendend und von der alten Wahrheit abführend ... (Also) wollte ich bei Männern der alten Schule mir die Mittel zur Abwehr gründlich zu eigen machen. Darum schliesslich ging ich nach Erlangen und zwar für 5 Semester”.

Es war 1888, als er sich dort als theologischer Student an der Friedrich-Alexander-Universität immatrikulieren liess. — Die ersten zwei Semester waren nicht sehr erfreulich: er musste statt in den Hörsaal in die Kaserne gehen. Er zählte die Wochen, die Tage, die Stunden bis alles vorbei sein möchte, mit dem Schmutz und der Rohheit der Kaserne, mit dem langweiligen Exerzieren. Zum Studium blieb herzlich wenig Zeit. Aber wenn er konnte, las er oder hörte Vorträge. Als endlich das Studium einen Anfang nehmen konnte, begab er sich zuerst ein halbes Jahr nach Göttingen, wo seine alten Freunde waren, um dort Methode zu lernen. Obwohl er mit dem Vorsatze hinging, sich „möglichst der modernen Richtung noch mehr zu verschliessen”, begann dort mit diesem Göttinger Semester, schreibt er, „ein neuer Abschnitt meines theologischen Anschauens nicht nur, sondern meines Lebens”. Aber ebenfalls in Erlangen hatte er zu seiner Überraschung manches anders gefunden als er erwartet hatte. Die Theologie Dr. Franks insbesondere, dessen freies Verhältnis zur Schrift beeindruckte ihn. Auch hörte er dort Männer wie Smend, Holzmann, Seeburg und andere. Von Nov. 1889 bis zum März 1891 studierte er in Bayern, darauf in Göttingen Theologie und Philosophie, bis 1898. 1897 war er dort schon Privatdozent der systematischen Theologie geworden. Am 9. Juli 1898 verteidigt er achtzehn Thesen zur Erlangung der theologischen Lizentiatenwürde an der Georgia-Augusta-Universität. Seine Opponenten sind Prof. A. Rahlfs und W. Heitmüller, cand. theol. Die erste These lautete: „’Ruach Jahweh’ ist weder ein fest umrissener noch ein einheitlicher Begriff. Einerseits ist unter ihm vorgestellt die göttliche Beeinflussung auf das Innere des Menschen, vornehmlich zur prophetischen Begeisterung, sodann zu religiös-sittlichen Bethätigungen und Eigenschaften, endlich zu geistigen Vermögen überhaupt. Andererseits ist er die göttliche, schöpferische Energie, das Prinzip des Lebens in der Creatur sowie die göttliche Weltwaltung und Immanenz”. Die zwölfte These war kurz und kräftig: „Der klarere

Titel für den reformatorischen Gedanken als 'justificatio' ist 'libertas christiana' ". Die zweite bis siebente These handelten über Luthers Auffassung von Wort und Geist. Diese hat er ausgearbeitet in seiner Dissertation, worin er schreibt: „Eine Art Inspiration neben oder vor dem Wort, wie sie die Illuminatio im strikten Sinne sein müsste, ist ganz ausserhalb des echten lutherischen Gedankens". Mit und durch das Wort erleuchtet der Heilige Geist das Herz" <sup>2)</sup>). Im Jahre 1904 wurde Otto zum ausserordentlichen Professor der Theologie ernannt. In dieser Zeit beschäftigt er sich vielfach mit Fragen hinsichtlich der Natur. Während des Sommers 1905 lässt er sich sogar in der medizinischen Fakultät von Göttingen eintragen als Student der Experimentalphysik. 1907 erscheint dann in Tübingen seine Abhandlung über „Naturalistische und religiöse Weltansicht", womit er summa cum laude den Dr. phil. erlangt. Mehr und mehr tritt er in den Vordergrund. Am 2. August 1907 wird ihm der Ehrendoktor der Theologie von der Universität zu Giessen verliehen. 1914 zum ordentlichen Professor in Breslau ernannt, geht er von dort schon drei Jahre später nach Marburg als Nachfolger Wilhelm Herrmanns. In die Zeit dort fällt seine grösste öffentliche Wirksamkeit. Die Studenten strömen zu seine Vorlesungen, sein Name wird bekannt über die ganze Welt. „Das Heilige", das 1917 erscheint, wird nicht nur ins Französische, Englische und Italienische übersetzt, sondern auch ins Spanische, Schwedische und Japanische <sup>3)</sup>). Am 5. Mai 1925 wird er zum Senator der Deutschen Akademie ernannt. So wundert man sich nicht, dass ihm auch Auszeichnungen vom Auslande zuteil werden: 1916 ein türkischer Orden vom Sultan der Osmanen, 1932 der theologische Ehrendoktor der Universität zu Uppsala.

Im Otto-Archiv findet sich einige Korrespondenz mit Zeitgenossen. Man kann daraus nicht gleich schliessen, wie vielseitig seine Bekanntschaften waren. Deutlich wird das aber aus den Berichten seiner drei grossen Studienreisen (er hat auch die Vereinigten Staaten besucht, wo er als Gastprofessor am Oberlin-College dozierte). Jene Reisen hat er in sehr verschiedenen Perioden seines Lebens gemacht, um seine religiöse Einsicht zu vertiefen. Die erste Reise — um Ostern

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2) R. Otto: Geist und Wort nach Luther, 1898. S. 36,31.

3) Erscheinungsjahre bei R. Davidson: R. Ottos interpretation of Religion. Princeton, 1947. p. 3.

1895 — führte ihn nach Ägypten, Jerusalem und den Berg Athos. Die zweite 1911 und 1912 machte er nach Nord-Afrika, Indien, Birma, China, Japan und durch Siberien nach dem Westen zurück. Die dritte Reise unternahm er zusammen mit dem schwedischen Pfarrer Birger Forell, der darüber später ein Buch veröffentlichte<sup>4)</sup>. Obschon bei diesen Fahrten die nationalen Interessen nicht vergessen wurden — Otto war von 1913 bis 1918 Abgeordneter im preussischen Landtag — war seine Absicht doch vor allem darauf ausgerichtet, die charakteristischen Züge des religiösen Lebens in seiner Verschiedenheit und seinem Zusammenhang auf dem Erdkreis an Ort und Stelle kennen zu lernen. Und in seinen Briefen und Berichten spüren wir jedesmal etwas von der Begegnung mit dem Heiligen, wie er in verschiedenen Augenblicken angerührt oder bewegt ist von jener hohen Majestät. So zeichnet er 1895 bei seinem Besuch der Pyramiden auf: „Die Zeit hat sich hier zur Ewigkeit versteinert“. Zu gleicher Zeit aber hat er ein Auge für die alberne Nichtigkeit des Menschen. Einmal schreibt er z.B. einem Freunde: „Dies sende ich dir mit vielen Grüßen von der Brust Ramses des Grossen ab, auf der ich eben liege“. Er ist offen für das Komische der Situation.

Als er, ins Heilige Land gekommen, sich Jerusalem nähert, erlebt er etwas von der Erhabenheit der Schöpfung. „Ich hatte die Freunde vorausreiten lassen, während ein anderer Teil der Gesellschaft noch weiter hinter mir zurückgeblieben war. Es war Abend geworden. Wir hatten uns von den freundlichen, alten Mönchen des Johannesklosters verabschiedet, dessen Glocken wie grüssend uns nachklangen, immer leiser werdend, und allmählich verhallend. Nun sank die Sonne und weithin dehnten sich über die Ebene die Schatten. Scharf vom goldenen Westhimmel vor uns zeichneten sich die langen Ketten und hohen Kuppen des Gebirge Juda ab; zur Linke, in der Ferne, breitete sich, jetzt ganz blau, der Spiegel des Toten Meeres. Im Hintergrunde aber boten die Berge Moabs ein unbeschreiblich schönes Schauspiel. Dunkle, mächtige Wolkenmassen hatten sich darüber zusammengezogen, hier und da mit leuchtenden Stellen Reflexen der versinkenden Sonne. Da, gerade neben einem der höchsten Gipfel des Gebirges be-

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4) „Wo Ost und West sich begegnen“ (Holländische Übersetzung von Chr. Doorman aus dem Schwedischen, 1930). Dieser Pfarrer war der erste, der nach dem zweiten Weltkriege mit obdachlosen Flüchtlingen ein eigenes Kirchendorf in Deutschland stiftete, Espelkamp.

ginnt es mit den zartesten Farben sich zu bilden und vom dunkelsten Gewölke immer strahlender sich abzuheben: ein Regenbogen von wunderbaren Glanze! Und bald neben ihm, mit umgekehrten Farben ein Zweiter, und endlich um die beiden, ganz zart und fein gewoben, ein Dritter. Das leuchtet, bis die Sonne ganz fort ist, und dann verglüht es langsam und verschwindet. Vor uns aber, gegen Westen, wölbt sich noch lange der Himmel wunderbar blau und unendlich tief, bis es dunkelt und aus seiner Tiefe die Sterne aufleuchten. — Da sammelt sich der zerstreute Sinn und wird inne wo er ist". Später am Berge Athos will er von Kloster zu Kloster wandern, Kirchen studieren, Mönchsluft atmen und nicht zum wenigsten an Berg, Wald und See sich freuen. Im Kloster Watopädi (Batopaidion) wird ihm der Gürtel der Jungfrau Maria gezeigt. Grosse Wunderkräfte wohnen ihm noch inne, hört er. Besonders für Regen ist er gut. Einen jungen, intelligenten Lehrer fragt Otto, ob solche Wunder immer noch geschehen. Er zuckt die Achseln und antwortet leichthin: „Oh ja, bisweilen". Aber ein älterer Mann hinter ihm, der das hört, sagt zu Otto: „Wenn ein Mensch, der an nichts denkt als an Essen und Trinken und ein Lügner und schlecht ist, nun anders wird und gut und fromm und nach Gott fragt, ist das kein Wunder? Nun, das geschieht jetzt noch immer. In der Königskirche zu Athen hörte ich eine Predigt: „Ihr sollt heilig sein, denn ich bin heilig". Das Wort habe ich hernach immer wieder gehört und wurde es gar nicht mehr los".

Typisch für sein Erleben der divinatorischen Geistes-Erhebung ist auch seine Wanderung nach der Pansagia-Kapelle, 3000 Fuss über Meereshöhe. Auf dem Wege dorthin nach dem Gipfel des Athos-Berges geht er über breite Schneefelder. Man muss, sie überschreitend, den Fuss fest durch die gefrorene Kruste stossen, um Halt zu suchen, sonst rutscht man unfehlbar auf der steilen, glatten Fläche in die Tiefe. Oben ist ein weites Meer wallender Wolken, das mit dem eigentlichen Meere ringsum in eins verschwimmt. — Den Gipfel kann Otto kletternd nicht erreichen. Als er aber später unten ein Schiff bestiegen hat, sieht er hoch oben, auf der höchsten Spitze, klein wie ein Punkt, das weisse Kirchlein der Verklärung Christi schimmern. Imposant steigen die einfachen grandiosen Linien vom Meere herauf, zu der dreifachen Kuppe sich einigend, deren Mitte doch wieder hoch über ihre Seite hinauswächst zu einsamer freier Höhe im Himmelsraum. Und er sagt leise: „Leb wohl, wundersame Welt".

Auf einer weiteren Reise, die er im Alter von 42 Jahren macht, sind die Eindrücke noch vielfältiger. Während seines monatelangen Aufenthaltes in Indien bekommt er Einblicke in die alte Geschichte und Kultur dieses Landes, in seine politische und soziale Lage, seine wissenschaftlichen Bemühungen, vor allem aber in seine religiösen und sittlichen Verhältnisse. Er begegnet dort Muslims und Hindus, Sikhs und Parsen. Grosse Bewunderung hat ihm das Werk der Missionen abgewonnen, besonders in seinen Leistungen für Unterricht und Erziehung und soziale Hebung der Massen. Damals hatten die Missionscolleges selbst bei den Muslims noch ein solches Vertrauen, das es z.B. in Lahore vorkam, dass muslimische Väter ihre Söhne lieber in das amerikanische Missionscollege gaben, als in das dort bestehende Islamia-College, weil die Erziehung dort solider sei. In Rangoon studiert er den birmanischen Buddhismus, sowie die buddhistische Propaganda und ihre Wirkung auf die Europäer. Als er weiterfährt, mussten zu seinem grossen Bedauern „die herrlichen Inseln Insulindes mit ihren Vulkanen und ihren so anziehenden Koppensnellern“ rechts liegen bleiben; mit noch grösserem Bedauern verzichtete er auf Siam mit seinen buddhistischen Schönheiten. — In der alten Hauptstadt des südlichen China erlebt er das Zusammentreffen der alten Religion mit dem neuen Geiste der Revolution. „In den geweihten Räumen des buddhistischen Tempels, der „Porzellan-Pagode“ kochten vor dem hoheitsvollen Bilde Buddha's plunderige Soldaten ihre Bohnen und sangen nicht eben erbauliche Lieder. „Sie haben keine Sitten“, sagte betrübt der alte Abt, der seine Gäste mit Thee und zierlichen Kuchen bewirtete, während in einer verschlossenen Kammer zwei Mönche schüchtern genug die Vesper sangen. An der Spitze von zwanzig soldatischen Begleitern ritt Sun Yat Sen vorüber, in westlicher Khaki-Uniform, Überlegenheit, Klugheit und entschiedenes Wollen in seinen Minen“. Ottos Ausflüge im Himmlischen Reich erstreckten sich bis zur chinesischen Mauer, zu den grossen nördlichen Ming-Gräbern und in die Westberge. Auch in Japan begegnete er vielen hervorragenden Männern, Geistlichen und Gelehrten, Priestern und fürstlichen Persönlichkeiten. Die Rückreise durch Russland unterbrach er in Tscheliabinsk, um einen Ritt in die sibirischen Steppe zu machen. Tagelang reiste er auf den grossen Flüssen, gewann Einblicke in die kräftig einsetzenden neue Bauernreformen und Landaufteilungen, in tatarische und jüdische Enklaven und verglich seine Eindrücke vom jetzigen russischen religiösen Leben



mit denjenigen, die er Jahre zuvor in diesem Lande bekommen hatte. So sammelt er Anregung und Stoff für eine Schrift über die Parallelen und Wertunterschiede der höheren Religionen untereinander und für andere Veröffentlichungen. Seine spätere Reise im Jahre 1927 nach Indien, Palästina, Kleinasien und dem Balkan beabsichtigte besonders das Verhältnis der theistischen zur mystisch-monistischen Richtung der indischen Religion in unmittelbarer Begegnung zu prüfen. Er lernt vielerlei Formen der Verehrung kennen und ergründet die kultischen Erlebnisse und sonstigen sakralen Äusserungen in ihrem religiösen Gehalt.

Man sollte daher Rudolf Otto sehen als einen Forscher, der mehr war als ein vergleichender Religionshistoriker, ein theoretischer Phänomenologe; denn immer sucht er einen neuen, unmittelbaren Zugang zur göttlichen Wirklichkeit.

Studium und Erfahrung unterstützen für ihn den Schluss, dass dasjenige, was sich dem Menschen als heilig dartut, für ihn in seinem tiefen Sinne aufgeht. Er verlegt sich darauf, die eigene Wahrheit des Ewigkeitssinnes zu entdecken, wie G. Wünsch zusammenfassend schrieb: „Danach ist Religion ein Sachverhalt *sui generis*, in seinem Wesen irrational (*numinos*), der durch ein besonderes menschliches Vermögen im 'Innern', im 'Seelengrunde', im schauenden Geiste aufleuchtet (*anamnesis*), wobei 'Gefühl', 'Ahndung', 'Divination' dieses eigentümliche Vermögen religiöser Realitätserkenntnis bezeichnen" 5).

Diese Sicht hat Otto tatsächlich in seinen Büchern bei verschiedenen Themen angewandt; aber auch in seinen Gesprächen, in seiner Lebenshaltung und bei den Aufbau der Religionskundlichen Sammlung in Marburg tritt sie als bestimmend hervor. Jeder, der ihm begegnete, wurde ergriffen von- ja, von etwas Grösserem als seiner Persönlichkeit, von einer merkwürdigen Macht, einem Mysterium, das durch ihn wirkte, als gehorte er einer anderen Welt an. Das erweckte Ehrfurcht. Man fühlte es, wenn er schwieg. Es ist noch zu spüren bei dem Bildnis, das der Maler Karl Doerbecker von ihm gemalt hat. Darin ligt etwas von derselben Erhabenheit, die über ihn hinauswies. Darum trägt jenes Bild die Überschrift:

Sine tuo numine  
nihil est in nomine  
nihil est innoxium.

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5) R.G.G.<sup>2</sup> Bd. IV. S.842.

Es trat hervor aus seinem, trotz vielen Begegnungen, einsamen Leben<sup>6)</sup>; es wurde mit dem Verlauf der Jahre ernster. Ganz selten, wenn niemand zu Hause war, konnte er in seiner Wohnung an der Sybelstrasse, am Berge, in Marburg ein Lied singen, wobei er sich selbst begleitete. Eine chronische Krankheit (Malaria), aus den Tropen mitgebracht — ein hoher Preis für die Unmittelbarkeit seiner Anschauungen und Einsichten — wirkte auf seine Konstitution. Schliesslich ist er heimgegangen, nach einem schmerzlichen Aufenthalt im Krankenhaus am 6. März 1937 entschlafen. Am Mittag des 10. März fand die Beisetzung statt. Seine Totenmaske ist im dreifachen Gusse vom Bildhauer Reinhard Paffrath in Marburg abgenommen. Eine davon ist aufbewahrt in der Sammlung im Schloss, die zweite besitzt die Familie von Prof. H. Frick, die dritte ist im Besitz von Prof. J. L. Adams. Diese Maske atmet einen tiefen Frieden, eine stille Grösse. Auch sein Grab oben auf dem Berge, von wo man eine weite Aussicht hat, ist dieser Gestalt angemessen, dessen Geist über das Irdische hinausragte. Am 20. Juni 1937 wurde in der Universitätsaula in Marburg eine feierliche Zusammenkunft zu seinem Gedächtnis gehalten. Nachdem das damalige Haupt der theologischen Fakultät, der amtierende Dekan Balla, gesprochen hatte, hielt Prof. H. Frick eine Gedächtnisansprache, auf welche Erinnerungsworte des Dekans der St-Paulus-Kirche von London, des englischen und des schwedischen Erzbischofs folgten. Frick stellte dort fest: „Rudolf Otto ist ein Meister gewesen. Er ist ein Entdecker gewesen. Anders als durch die Mühsal des Bergsteigens gelangt keiner in die Region der Erhabenheit, noch gewinnt sein Auge jenen innerlichen Blick, der Rudolf Otto auszeichnet hat“<sup>7)</sup>.

Einen Überblick über seine wichtigsten Schriften findet man in dem Buche von Robert F. Davidson: „R. Otto's Interpretation of Religion“<sup>8)</sup>, das eine erste Zusammenfassung und systematische Interpretation seiner Gedankenwelt in Amerika ist. Eine andere klare Übersicht seiner Lebensarbeit in englischer Sprache findet man in dem Buche Joachim Wachs „Types of religious experience“ (p. 209-227). Dieser nennt darin auch die Abhandlung von John M. Moore: „Theories of religious experience with special reference to James, Otto and

6) Vgl. J. Wach: *Types of religious experience*, p. 210.

7) R. Otto — Gedächtnisfeier, herausg. Theol. Fakultät Marburg, 1938. S. 11, 25.

8) Auch P. Seiffert in: *Die Religionsphilosophie R. Ottos*. 1936.

Bergson" <sup>9)</sup>). Zu seinem 60. Geburtstag erschienen in Deutschland sieben „Marburger Theologische Studien“ <sup>10)</sup>, worin Th. Siegfrieds Aufsatz „Grundfragen der Theologie bei Rudolf Otto“ wohl am meisten die Früchte seines Nachsinnens jenen vorlegt, die mit den Problemen der natürlichen Theologie und der göttlichen Transzendenz kämpfen. Siegfried fasst darin die Schau Ottos so zusammen: das Ganz-Andere „bezeichnet die schlechthinnige Wertüberlegenheit des Göttlichen über alle fassbaren Werte und seine schlechthinnige Eigenheit gegenüber allem geschöpflichen Sein“ <sup>11)</sup>. Das unmittelbare Wissen des Geheimnisses, das unsere Existenz nicht nur umfasst, sondern *ermöglicht*, bestimmt den Punkt, wo die Offenbarung erkennbar wird. Es offenbart sich nicht mehr bloss eine *causa prima*, sondern „eine lebendige Beziehung Gottes zum Menschen an genau der Stelle, an der wir schon wissen, dass irrationale Tiefenbeziehungen bestehen“ <sup>12)</sup>. Um jene mysteriöse Tiefe in der Offenbarung anzudeuten, die die ganze Wirklichkeit trägt, verwendet Otto lieber „Ideogramme“ als Deutungszeichen des Numinosen als die Kategorien der kantschen transzendentalen Kritik <sup>13)</sup>. Die menschliche Vernunft ruht auf dem 'intuitus mysticus', dem die religiösen Dimensionen aufgehen in Innenschau als Realbegegnung und in Einheitsschau der Welt-in-Gott. Wenn wir vom Heiligen ergriffen sind, erschliesst sich uns an allen Kreaturen die Erkenntnis des göttlichen Grundes. Durch die Wahrnehmung des Objektes hindurch wird die Fremderkenntnis das Schema der Gotteserfahrung. — Dann verweist Siegfried auf vier Momente in Ottos Lehre vom religiösen Apriori, worin u.a. die wesentliche Beziehung zwischen Gott und Mensch begriffen ist. Dieses Ausgerichtet-sein auf das Unbedingte bestimmt aber auch die Art der Aktualisierung dieses Apriori (im Sinne einer religiösen 'Anlage') durch die freie konkrete Gottestat. Diese besondere Art der Apperzeption der Wirklichkeit, worin das Transzendente sich lebendig und wesentlich entdecken lässt, nennt Otto „Divination“ <sup>14)</sup>. Damit bezweckt er also die Überwin-

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9) Neu-York, 1938.

10) Herausgegeben von H. Frick als 'R. Otto-Festgruss', 1931.

11) Vgl. R. Otto: Das Gefühl des Überweltlichen. S. 212 flg.

12) Th. Siegfried. Grundfragen in 'Festgruss' S. 1-37.

13) R. Otto: Das Heilige, 1947. S. 74.

14) Früher wurde die Anwendung der Divination beschränkt auf Mantik, der „Kunst der Wahr- und Weissagung“. Das Wort hat in der neueren Religionskunde eine weitere Bedeutung bekommen.

dung einer Erklärung der Religion aus einer rein-immanenten Gottesidee oder aus psychologischen Motiven. Und damit ist zugleich der Ausgangspunkt für eine religiöse Weltanschauung gegeben. „Das teleologische und sittliche Prinzip schmelzen zusammen in der Einheit einer intuitiven Weltanschauung“. — Das wird dann weiter von Siegfried noch illustriert an einigen grundlegenden Themen: das Sein und die Liebe Gottes, Ottos Sündenbegriff und seine Christologie. Andere Zusammenfassungen von Ottos Arbeit findet man in dem Sonderheft der „Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche“, das im Jahre nach seinem Tode erschien<sup>15)</sup>. Über Ottos Bedeutung für das Studium der Kirchengeschichte hat E. Benz geschrieben<sup>16)</sup>. Ottos eigentümliche Vornehmheit, seine subtilen Unterscheidungen in religiöser Wertschätzung und die umfassenden Gebiete, auf denen er wirksam war, lernt man aber vor allem kennen aus den Schriften, die er selbst veröffentlicht hat, sowie aus den Manuskripten von Vorlesungen, die im Otto-Archiv aufbewahrt sind. Zu diesen letzteren gehören: eine Glaubenslehre (1920, 1925, 1927) und Diktate über Ethik: das christliche Ethos, Lehre der sittlichen Prinzipien, Klassen der objektiven Werte, Sittengesetz und Gotteswille (1931) und Zivilisation und Kultur (1933). Posthum wurde noch veröffentlicht: „Notwendigkeit und Freiheit“. Dazu hat er einige ältere philosophische Werke aufs neue herausgegeben: Imm. Kants 'Grundlegung zur Metaphysik der Sitten' (1930); E. E. Apelts 'Metaphysik'; und H. Schmidts 'Vorlesungen über das Wesen der Philosophie'. In englischer Sprache wurden etwa zehn seiner Arbeiten übersetzt<sup>17)</sup>. In Holland erschien ausser den Übersetzungen von „Das Heilige“, der kritischen Abhandlung Feigels und einem Aufsatz von G. Merkel<sup>18)</sup> als ausführliche Studie nur meine Dissertation, „Divinatie, met name by Rudolf Otto“, woraus ein Teil in diesem Artikel in deutscher Sprache<sup>19)</sup> gebracht wird. Die Schriften Ottos erläutern Themen aus vielen Bezirken des religiösen Lebens und Denkens: das Neue Testament, Glauben und Sitte der Christen,

15) Ztschr. für Theologie und Kirche, Neue Folge, 19. Jrg. Heft 1/2. 1938.

16) Ztschr. für Kirchengeschichte, 1937. S. 375 flg. In derselben Zeitschrift veröffentlichte Otto in 1921 einen Aufsatz über: Chrysostomus über das Unbegreifliche in Gott. 21. Jrg. Neue Folge. S. 239 ff.

17) Vgl. Davidson, a.w.

18) G. Merkel: Zum Gedenken an Rud. Otto, Nederl. Theologisch Tijdschrift. 1938.

19) Vikar A. Schwier war mir dabei freundlicherweise behilflich.

ihre Betätigung in Gottesdienst und Mission hat er in neuem Lichte gesehen, aber auch andere Weltreligionen und die Mystik. Diese Gebiete sind alle geschaut und beurteilt im Bewusstsein der unmittelbaren und entscheidenden Gegenwart des Heiligen, der göttlichen Macht, mit dem *sensus numinis*.

Zum Schluss wollen wir noch kurz Ottos Arbeiten in diesem Sinne kennzeichnen.

Sein grosses Werk „Das Heilige“ ist ausgerichtet auf das ‘Objekt’ der Divination, auf Ihn, in dem der Geist in seiner Fülle wohnt. Es geht Otto nicht nur darum, dass Ahnung und Sehnsucht vom Heiligen zeugen, sondern dass man ihm auch begegnen könne in besonderen Vorkommnissen, Begebenheiten, Personen, Tat-Erweisungen der göttlichen Offenbarung. Dass das Heilige sich wirklich manifestiert und zur Geltung bringt — das ist entscheidend; und darum wird die Begegnung mit ihm immer konkreter, je mehr man in den Enthüllungen Fortschritte macht. Dem etwaigen Vermögen, Es in der Erscheinung echt anzuerkennen (wie Otto die Divination definiert) soll die Bedeutung der Zeichen des Heiligen aufgehen. In ‘Das Gefühl des Überweltlichen’, worin Otto ergänzende Aufsätze zu “Das Heilige” gesammelt hat, geht er näher auf die Wirkung des *sensus numinis* ein. Er zeigt Zinzendorf als den Entdecker dieses religiösen Sinnes. Sodann weist er hin auf a) die Tiefen dieser Begegnung woraus die Geschichte der Götter hervorquillt; b) auf die Parallelen und Konvergenzen der Religionsgeschichte, worin Einheit und Verschiedenheit des religiösen Erlebens hervortritt <sup>20)</sup>; und c) auf Laute und Lieder, die dieses ‘Urgefühl’ äusseren; wobei er d) auch noch ein Kapitel dem Verhältnis von Religionskunde und Theologie widmet. Diese Gesichtspunkte werden von Otto in verschiedenen Büchern für bestimmte Zwecke ausgearbeitet.

1. So bezwecken seine Veröffentlichungen indischer Texte, sowohl das Religiös-Eigene wie auch das Universell-Anziehende der Hindu-Mystik und -Heilslehre westlichen Christen deutlich werden zu lassen. Seine Schrift über ‘Gottheit und Gottheiten der Arier’ — die man nicht verwechseln darf mit einer Verherrlichung einer „arischen Rasse“ durch andere Deutsche! — hat die Absicht, die Ehrfurcht gegenüber Indien als der Heimat der europäischen Religionsaufge-

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<sup>20)</sup> Systematisch erörtert in H. Frick: *Vergleichende Religionswissenschaft*, 1928.

geschlossenheit zu stärken. Otto schreibt darin: „Was sich hier tun lässt ist nur, die *occasions* aufzusuchen und zu verstehen, die die Durchbrüche des numinösen Gefühls veranlassen, das heisst, etwaige natürliche Gegebenheiten, Gegenstände sowohl als Vorgänge, wie Situationen zu erwägen, denen es sich assoziiert ... und die können dabei die allerverschiedenste sein: Gegebenheiten der äusseren Natur, des Seelenlebens, des Geschickes, des Individual- und Stammeslebens, der Sitte und sozialen Ordnung ...“ 21).

2. Von den Parallelen und Konvergenzen in der Entwicklung der Religion hat der Marburger Professor ein treffendes Beispiel gegeben in seinem feinsinnigen Werke „West-Östliche Mystik“. Bei diesem Vergleich von Šankara und Eckehart erhebt er typische Ähnlichkeiten und Unterschiede, welche Linien auch anderswo zu verfolgen sein würden. So spricht z.B. Eckehart von der höheren intuitiven Einsicht, die durch die gewöhnliche Erkenntnis hindurchbricht, wie von dem ‘Morgenleuchten’, dem das Abendlicht weicht. Das Morgenlicht ist so verklärend, dass es „alle Dinge siehet in Gott“. Diese Einheitsschau bestimmt seine mystische Ontologie. Hierbei erwähnt Otto, dass man diese gnädige Seins-Verleihung in dem Geiste Paulus’ und Luthers wiederfindet. Er hätte daneben auch erinnern können an Augustins *cognitio vespertina et matutina*. Nur ist bei jenem Kirchenvater dieser Gegensatz mehr historisch bedingt, bei dem mittelalterlichen Prediger aber eher durch den ‘Seelengrund’. Mit Recht warnt Otto an diesem Punkte davor, hier von einem Pantheismus zu reden. Eher könnte man sich getrauen, von seinem Gegenteil zu sprechen: einer alles-absorbierenden Gnadenlehre, einem Theopantismus 22).

3. Ein drittes Beispiel wesentlich religiöser Einfühlung bietet Otto in einer Forschung über Gnadenwirkung im Christentum und in der indischen Bhakti-Religion. Darin lenkt er die Aufmerksamkeit auf einige charakteristische Punkte: erstens darauf, dass die neue Einsicht, das ‘himmlische Auge’, das dem Menschen verliehen wird, auch im Osten nicht aufgefasst wird als etwas, das für den natürlichen Menschen in seinen eigenen Kräften ruht; dass vielmehr etwas vorausgehen muss, was in keines Menschen Willen gelegen ist als letzter und eigentlicher Grund von Rettung und Heil, nämlich die ewige Erwählung und der göttliche Gnadenblick. Weiter, dass die ewige

21) R. Otto: *Gottheit und Gottheiten der Arier*, 1932. S. 14.

22) R. Otto: *West-Östliche Mystik*, 1926. S. 80. 227, 286 flg.

Verfügung im Westen nicht als eine zeitlose Anordnung aufgenommen werden soll, sondern dass es geht um „ein prinzipielles Verhältnis zwischen Creator und creatura, wonach jeder Moment der Zeitreihe nach ganz ebenso unmittelbar auf Gott bezogen ist wie etwa ihr erster Punkt“. Das gibt der Existenz ihren Charakter der Momentaneität: „Existenz . . . ist nicht Sein überhaupt, sondern ist von Moment zu Moment neu aus der Gnade sein“ <sup>23</sup>).

Zusammenfassend können wir sagen, dass auf allen Wegen Ottos die Divination eine wesentliche Funktion erfüllt hat. Schon in 1924 hat A. A. le Maistre in seiner Dissertation „La Pensée religieuse de R. Otto et le mystère du Divin“ die zentrale Bedeutung der Anwendung der Divination auf das Christentum erkannt <sup>24</sup>). Die Ausarbeitung von Ottos eigentlichem Anliegen für die unterschiedlichen Gebiete der theologischen Enzyklopädie habe ich zu bringen versucht in meinem Buche „Divinatie, met name bij Rudolf Otto“ <sup>25</sup>). Darin habe ich gezeigt, dass es für die Zukunft von erneuerender Bedeutung sein kann, wenn man mit Hilfe der Divination die tieferen religiöse Strukturen entdeckt, — mit jenem Ewigkeitssinn, der kaum einem Menschen unseres Jahrhunderts so zu eigen war wie ihm.

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23) R. Otto: *Indiens Gnadenreligion und das Christentum*, 1930. S. 32, 100, 108.

24) A. A. le Maistre: *La Pensée religieuse de R. Otto et le mystère du Divin*. 1924. p. 112.

25) Leeuwarden, Eewal 51<sup>b</sup>, 1957.

# THE SENSE OF SIN AND GUILT AND THE LAST AGE [MAPPO] IN CHINESE AND JAPANESE BUDDHISM

BY

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It has been commonly thought that there is no sense of sin or guilt in Chinese and Japanese religions. Also it has been commonly thought that Buddhism is exclusively a religion of the self perfectibility of man. However, investigation indicates that Buddhist tradition is more diverse than the general texts portraying it reveal. It is the purpose of this essay to call attention to a trend in Buddhist thinking, particularly in China and Japan, which exhibits a deep sense of the imperfection of the world and man, and of man's incapacity under his own power to overcome that imperfection.

A point of major consideration relative to the character of this discussion is the fact that it seems clear from the evolution of such traditions as Hinduism, Buddhism and Christianity that religions offering salvation or spiritual liberation cannot become popular or folk religions, holding only a belief in the self-perfectibility of man. Belief in self-perfection requires techniques not available to the ordinary man in the common pursuits of life. A division of the religious elite and the common man ensues. Pressures develop within such traditions which attempt to find a basis of hope for the common man within the framework of his day to day life. In the formation of such outlooks at least four concepts tend to cluster together. These are: (1) a concept of the bondage and incapacity of man to overcome such conditions on his own power, (2) a concept of overpowering compassion which is absolute to the extent that the bondage is absolute, (3) a demand for simple faith and practice to activate salvation, and (4) an affirmation of the common life as no hindrance to salvation.

In this connection we must define sin and guilt in order to prevent misunderstanding. Sin and guilt are generally viewed from a Christian



perspective in which sin is rebellion against the will of God, and consequent guilt is the feeling of rejection by the divine. Such sin and guilt is, of course, not experienced in the Buddhist context. However, it may be possible to employ the terms, or similar terms such as "depravity" or "defiled" to depict man's involvement in the passions and bondage to the world which prevents him from attaining the high Buddhist ideals revealed in Sakyamuni and his early disciples. Such people realize that they fall short of the potentialities of the human nature symbolized in Buddha. Their guilt is derived not from a feeling of rejection by deity, but by a self-rejection as they become aware of the gulf which separates them from the ideals of the Buddha. If it can be agreed that sin and guilt may be redefined to express a sense of imperfection in oneself and a sense of incapacity to achieve aspired ideals on one's own, then we can profitably discuss this subject in the context of Buddhism.

The fundamental concept which provides the context for this discussion is that of the decline and disappearance of the Dharma, known generally in its Japanese term, *Mappō*. This concept, as it became formulated chiefly in China and later in Japan, provides an interpretation of the history of Buddhism, particularly of its decline and disappearance. When it was taken up into the Pure Land teaching, it gave an understanding of why Buddhist ideals were impossible to attain through traditional means and also the justification of new means of salvation designed primarily for the common man.

The doctrine was frequently stressed on the background of social instability which provided an existential dimension to the abstract teaching. It is thought that perhaps the invasion of India by Greeks and also by nomad tribes may have provided an initial basis for the formation of the idea of the destruction of Dharma. When the thought came to China, it penetrated the popular consciousness in the period between the North-South dynasties and the establishment of the Sui dynasty. Important in this connection was the persecution of Buddhism by Chou Wu-ti in 574. It was considered by some Buddhists that the last age began about 570 A.D. In Japan the thought became very strong and influential during the 11th and 12th centuries which was a time of great social transition in the downfall of the Heian nobility and the rise of the provincial warriors of the Kamakura era.

With such conditions in the background providing a deep sense of

danger and imperfection, so-called *Mappō*-Buddhism spread rapidly among the people, because it gave them a frame of reference for understanding the nature of the events around them. In this they are similar to many modern people who become attracted to eschatological teachings in times of stress. Through such teachings individuals can adjust to the difficult world in which they live.

The origin of the doctrine is not entirely clear. Buddha Sakyamuni in the Pali tradition seems to indicate that the pure teachings will remain only 500 years since nuns have been permitted into the Order. This idea may have been the nucleus for the concept of a gradual decline in Buddhism. The development of factions and schools of variant interpretation after Buddha's death may have made it necessary to distinguish between True or Orthodox interpretation and the Counterfeit or to a degree erroneous interpretation. It is possible to surmise the background in which distinctions, later formulated into a theory of decline, originated. The final stage in the decline is that of the disappearance or end of the Dharma. In the Pure Land tradition it was based primarily on the teaching of the *Daishugatsuzōkyō*, quoted by Tao Ch'o (562-645) and major teachers from that time. The Lotus Sutra (*Saddharma pūdarika*, *Hokkekyō*) is another major source for the theory. Numerous other texts are cited by scholars to witness to the concept in Buddhist sutras.

There are three basic periods in the system:

1. The first is the Period of True Dharma in which there is present the teachings of Buddha, earnest practice and realization of aspiration.
2. In the second period of Counterfeit, Imitation, or quasi-Dharma we have only the teachings and practice of Buddhism, but there is no attainment of the ideal.
3. In the third period there is only the teaching of Buddhism, but no practice and no attainment of the ideal. Sectarianism, violence and corruption infect the Order. This age is also described as one of the five stains or corruptions, a concept related to the theory of Kalpa decline in Indian thought, but widely used to depict the last period of the Dharma. The five impurities are: deterioration of the Kalpa, egoism, deterioration of view, prevalence of passion-delusion-anger, human miseries increase, length of life shortens to 10 years. (Soothill, Hodous, *Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms*, 122a).

It should be noted that there are various time limitations given to

the basic periods leaving considerable flexibility in determining the time of the beginning of the last and crucial period, particularly when these periods are correlated with one or other of the variant dates of Buddha's Nirvana taught in the Mahayana tradition.

The origin of the elements of the theory such as True or Counterfeit may have been designed chiefly to explain internal conditions within Buddhism. It is related to the development of Mahayana Buddhism. In the Lotus Sutra proponents of the new teachings justify their doctrines on the basis that Buddha prescribed their teachings as suitable for the age of decline, and that they might expect opposition because the Order was corrupt.

The doctrine later was applied in a universal fashion to depict the condition of the world and was used as the theoretical justification for the development of forms of Buddhism applicable to the common man in his ordinary life. The most outstanding development in this direction was in the Pure Land tradition. It is noteworthy in this connection to point out that the concept is not intrinsic to Pure Land teaching, and does not appear in the basic Pure Land sutras themselves. It was applied to Pure Land Doctrine by T'an luan (476-542) who first made Pure Land teaching a popular doctrine in China in the *Ōjōronchū*. At about the same time the doctrine was also taught by Hsin Hsing (540-594) in the Three Stage Doctrine which had implications of religious and social criticism.

While the teaching of Hsin Hsing eventually was proscribed and ultimately disappeared in Chinese society, the tradition initiated by T'an luan became increasingly widespread. Outstanding followers in the tradition were Tao Ch'ō and Shan tao (613-681). The teaching of Shan tao was eventually brought to Japan where it became the basis of Genshin's teaching of Pure Land in the *Ōjōyōshū*.

With this doctrine as a foundation, Hōnen began the Pure Land sect as an independent organization in Japan. His disciple Shinran gave noteworthy elaboration of the basic theory and laid the foundation of the True Sect of the Pure Land.

The tradition reveals from T'an luan to Shinran an increasing depth of understanding of the implications of the awareness of depravity and inability in man for religious doctrine and practice. In addition it may be observed that with the increasing depth of understanding of the plight of mankind, there came greater insistence that the Pure

Land doctrine alone is the true way of salvation for all men (Ichijō, one vehicle). There was increasing absolutism in conception. It was the conviction of proponents of the theory of decline that the teaching of Buddhism must be correlated to the times and the nature of the people of that time.

The Pure Land tradition which we have stressed thus far relates the concept of decline to the problem of individual salvation. However, the teaching of the Lotus Sutra has peculiar relevance for our own time, because it is the basis for the teaching arising in the Nichiren tradition of Japan which relates the concept of decline to the social situation. The Soka Gakkai school and similar organizations proclaim that the teachings of the Lotus Sutra, interpreted by Nichiren, are the only true teachings for the present age of decline in the world.

The Buddhist prophet Nichiren (1222-1282) especially appropriated the eschatological dimension of the Lotus Sutra to interpret the meaning of his own life, the destiny of Japan and the nature of Buddhism. As his own age was peculiarly unstable, forcing him to take an uncompromising stance toward other schools of thought, so others in his tradition, in the face of the problems and anxieties of the present age, have tried to impress people with the gravity of the age for which only the single hearted acceptance of Nichiren's doctrine and the Lotus Sutra are the true answer. An earlier example of this belief appeared at the end of the 19th century when Chigaku Tanaka strove for reform in Buddhism. Conditions surrounding the restoration of the Emperor and the unfortunate condition of Buddhism at that time stirred Tanaka to preach.

The problems of post-war Japan and the anxieties which penetrate every individual have made many aware of the imperfections of the world and themselves, thus disposing them to accept appeals of this type. It is important to note that eschatological absolutisms allied with political power and appealing to deep feelings and anxieties of individuals provide the foundation for enormously powerful religious or political movements.

In conclusion, we may state that without an understanding of the aspects of sin and guilt present in theories of the decline of Buddhism in China and Japan the peculiar religious significance of the Pure Land tradition in the history of religion will be over-looked as being merely a sop to weak intellects, and such modern movements as the

Soka Gakkai and related organizations of the Nichiren tradition will be underestimated in the deep religious springs which make it attractive to common people. More research needs to be carried out on the nature of Buddhist eschatology.

# HERMANN GÜNTERT ALS RELIGIONSFORSCHER

VON

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Durch die Ungunst der Zeiten ist nicht genügend des grossen Heidelberger Sprachgelehrten Hermann Güntert, der auch gerade *für Behandlung verschiedener Religionsfragen wegweisend* wurde, gedacht worden. Diesen Nachholbedarf möchte ich hiermit wenigstens ein wenig befriedigen und zur Beschäftigung mit ihm anregen.

I. „*Der Anfang, das Ende, o Herr, sie sind dein.*”

Güntert stammt aus der sagenumwobenen alten „Nibelungenstadt” Worms am Rhein, wo auch der Begründer der vergleichenden (indoeuropäischen) Sprachwissenschaft, der gleichfalls Günterts Leben und Werk gehörte, Franz BOPP, geboren wurde. Seine Mutter, die Güntert am 3.11.1886 zur Welt brachte, war evangelisch, aus einer Hugenottenfamilie, deren in Frankreich gebliebener Zweig heute noch in Lyon existiert. Sein Vater war katholischer Kaufmann. (Der Sohn Hermann war wie seine Mutter evangelisch).

Güntert ist immer sehr heimatverbunden geblieben, ganz besonders mit seiner Alma Mater und der dazu gehörenden Stadt *Heidelberg*, wo er zunächst als Lernender, als Student, später als Lehrender im Schuldienst und dann als gefeierter Universitätslehrer meist (ungefähr 1905-1921 und 1926-1948) ansässig war. Erst 62-jährig starb Güntert am 23.4.1948 in Heidelberg, nachdem er fast ein Jahrzehnt krankheits halber an der vollen Ausübung seines Berufes gehindert war. Er wurde nach einer grösseren Feier im Krematorium auf dem schönen Bergfriedhof in Heidelberg bestattet, wo unter den vielen dort bestatteten deutschen Geistesgrössen der erste deutsche Reichspräsident, Friedrich Ebert, wohl der bekannteste ist <sup>1)</sup>.

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1) Es ist vielleicht erlaubt, hier einzufügen, wie ich zu diesem wohl *ersten ausführlicheren Nachruf* kam. Ich lernte Güntert erst als schwerkranken Mann kennen. Seine Übungen und Privatissimi hielt er damals in seiner Wohnung,

## II. *Leben und Werk.*

Zeit lebenslang widmete Güntert dem Indo-Iranischen, Altgriechischen und Altgermanischen seine besondere Aufmerksamkeit, dann bedeutungs- und religionsgeschichtlichen Fragen. Zur Sprachvergleichung zog er aber auch ausser-indoeuropäische Sprachen heran. Unter den etwa 30 Sprachen, die er mehr oder weniger konnte, waren sogar Chinesisch und Koreanisch. Es machte ihm z.B. eine besondere Freude, wenn ich zu seinen litauischen Erklärungen die lettischen Ergänzungen gab.

1905 begann Güntert in *Heidelberg* sein Universitätsstudium, nachdem er im selben Jahr am Humanistischen Gymnasium in Worms sein Abitur abgelegt und für seine Leistungen als bester Schüler den Jahrespreis dieser Lehranstalt erhalten hatte. Während seiner Schulzeit hatte er bereits auch Hebräisch und besonders intensiv Sanskrit betrieben. — Er studierte klassische Philologie, Germanistik und bei Osthoff Vergleichende Sprachwissenschaft (cf. Hermann Osthoff, *Westfälische Lebensbilder*, 1933, pg. 334 ff.), später bei Christian Bartholomae, der ein Original gewesen sein muss, und über den Güntert manche nette Anekdote zu erzählen wusste, Indo-Iranisch. 1926 wurde Güntert übrigens als ordentlicher Professor Amtsnachfolger von Prof. Bartholomae.

Für seine Doktorarbeit „Zur Geschichte der griechischen Gradationsbildungen“, erschienen 1909 in Strassburg in den „Indogermanischen Forschungen“, erhielt Güntert von Prof. Brugmann den Curtius-Preis der Universität Leipzig. So konnte er seine Heidelberger Jahre für ein kurzes Wintersemester unterbrechen und in Leipzig bei Brugmann, der Osthoff als Führer der sog. junggrammatischen Schule ablöste, bei Streitberg, Leskien und Windisch seine Studien vertiefen. (Die Musikstadt Leipzig bot ihm auch Gelegenheit, sich noch mehr mit seiner viel geliebten Musik zu beschäftigen.)

Bevor Güntert im Frühjahr 1909 sein *Staatsexamen* in Karlsruhe in den drei Fächern: Deutsch, Griechisch und Latein ablegte, vertrat er

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Philosophenweg 3. Ich las bei ihm Rigveda und Awesta im Urtext. Im Nebenfach promovierte ich bei ihm in awestischer Philologie und bereitete mich zur Habilitation bei ihm vor, die ich nicht beenden konnte. 1941 im Herbst ernannte er mich noch zu seinem Assistenten am Sprachwissenschaftlichen Seminar Heidelberg. Ebenfalls aus Kriegsgründen konnte ich diese Stelle nicht antreten. (Immerhin ist mir unvergesslich, dass bis Kriegsende diese Stelle offenblieb, da in der Zwischenzeit nur ein Hilfsassistent ernannt wurde.)

einige Wochen einen Studienrat an der Oberrealschule in Mannheim. Von 1909 bis 1921 war Güntert am Gymnasium in Heidelberg tätig. Im Wintersemester 1912/13 habilitierte er sich an der Universität Heidelberg, wurde 1918 hauptamtlich am Gymnasium angestellt und nicht beamteter ausserordentlicher Professor an der Universität.

Mit der Zeit sind auch andere Lehrer für seinen wissenschaftlichen Lebensweg wichtig geworden. Er bekennt in der Zeitschrift „Wörter und Sachen“, 9. Bd., 1926, Heft 2: „Früh fesselten mich bedeutungsgeschichtliche Fragen. Insbesondere interessierten mich religionswissenschaftliche Probleme, und diese persönliche Neigung wurde durch den Einfluss von Albrecht DIETRICH (1866-1908) und Franz BOLL (1867-1924) noch verstärkt.“ Beide waren gründliche klassische Philologen, die auch als Religionswissenschaftler etwas zu sagen hatten.

1921 folgte Güntert einem Ruf an die *Universität Rostock* als Nachfolger von Herbig und kehrte 1926 durch Berufung an die *Universität Heidelberg* zurück. — An seine Rostocker Zeit dachte Güntert immer gern zurück. Dort heiratete er die Tochter des Strafrechtslehrers Geheimer Justizrat Prof. Dr. Wachenfeld, mit der er in glücklicher Ehe verbunden war, und die noch heute als Nachlassverwalterin seiner unvollendeten Schriften und seiner Vorlesungsausarbeitungen regen Anteil an seinem früh abgerissenen Schaffen nimmt. Aus Liebe zur Ostsee erwarb Güntert sich im Fischerdorf Wustrow (zwischen Bodden und Ostsee) ein hübsches „Kapitänshaus“ als Sommersitz, welches dann leider durch die Abtrennung der sogenannten „Deutschen Demokratischen Republik“ (Ostzone) von Westdeutschland diesem Zweck entfremdet wurde und der Witwe nicht mehr zur Verfügung steht.

1931 erfolgte als Anerkennung für seine vielfältigen Forschungsarbeiten die Ernennung Günterts zum Mitglied der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften. 1933 erhielt er einen unbesoldeten Lehrauftrag zur Abhaltung von Vorlesungen über Germanenkunde.

Im Studienjahr 1928/29 wurde Güntert Dekan der Philosophischen Fakultät in Heidelberg, vom Winterhalbjahr 1933/34 bis zum Sommer 1937 hatte er zum zweiten Mal das Dekanat inne. Wohl infolge Arbeitsüberlastung und von vielerlei Aufregungen durch Anfeindungen amtlicher Stellen erkrankte er kurz vor Ausbruch des zweiten Weltkrieges an einer schweren Kreislaufstörung, sodass er nicht nur seine



Lehrtätigkeit sehr stark vermindern musste, sondern auch sein umfangreichstes Werk, das seine religionsgeschichtlichen Arbeiten mit einer Studie über den germanischen Gott *B a l d e r* abschliessen sollte, unvollendet blieb.

Im Nachruf auf ihn in der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften hat Prof. Kienast 1948, gelegentlich des Todes, an Güntert die „gewaltige Arbeitskraft“, die „volle Beherrschung des vielschichtigen Materials“, seine „Klarheit der Gedankenführung“, seine „genialische Kombinationsgabe“ gerühmt. Güntert liebte es, „viel behandelte und ungelöste Probleme erneut zur Diskussion zu stellen.“ „Ihm war auch Widerspruch recht, wenn nur der Sache dabei gedient war.“ (Kienast). Infolge dieser besonderen Gaben, die fraglos nicht übertrieben sind, ist es kein Wunder, dass er ein begeisternder und gefeierter Universitätslehrer war, nachdem er bereits seinen Schülern am Gymnasium durch seinen Unterricht Anregungen weit über die Schulzeit hinaus mitgegeben hatte. Dieser so vielseitige Mensch war auch ein schöpferischer Dichter, der auf diese Art Ergebnisse seiner exakten wissenschaftlichen Forschungen künstlerisch zu unterstreichen und zu beleben versuchte, und nicht zuletzt ein ausgezeichneter Klavierspieler.

Das Anziehendste an Güntert war aber seine Persönlichkeit. Trotz seiner wissenschaftlich exakten Tätigkeit fand man in ihm einen herzenswarmen, aufgeschlossenen Menschen, der ein weites Verständnis und eine grosse Güte für alle seine Schüler aufbrachte, verbunden mit einem grossen Scharm. So kam es, dass seine Vorlesungen und Übungen von Studenten auch anderer Fakultäten und aller Kontinente besucht wurden und seine ehemaligen Studenten heute in vielen Ländern leben.

### III. *Günterts Veröffentlichungen.*

Unter Günterts Werken sind die (wie er sie nannte) „bedeutungsgeschichtlichen Untersuchungen“, und zwar meist auf religiösem Gebiet, am bedeutendsten. Nach seinen ersten vielen, kleinen und grösseren Arbeiten, mit denen er an die Öffentlichkeit trat, und die lautliche, morphologische und bedeutungsgeschichtliche Probleme behandeln<sup>1)</sup>, erschien 1914, im Jahr des Ausbruchs des ersten Weltkrieges, Günterts erstes Buch „Über Reimwortbildungen im Arischen (= Indo-irani-

<sup>1)</sup> An anderer Stelle wird demnächst eine vollständige Güntert-Bibliographie erscheinen.

schen) und Altgriechischen", in dessen letztem Kapitel *die Namen des indoeuropäischen Blitz- und Donnergottes* behandelt werden.

Im selben Jahr erschienen in den Sitzungsberichten der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften seine 34 Seiten „Über *die ahurischen und daevischen Ausdrücke im Awesta*", eine gleichfalls religionsgeschichtliche Studie.

Das *indoeuropäische Todesproblem* hat Güntert im Jahre 1919 als „methodisches Muster" seiner bedeutungsgeschichtlichen Untersuchungen an einer „ästhetisch missverstandenen Episode der Odyssee" Homers in seinem Buch „*Kalypso*" aufgerollt. Die ganze Bedeutungsgruppe des „*Verhüllens*" und „*Verbergens*" führt hier über Einzel-Etymologien zu einer Geschichte der indoeuropäischen Verbildlichungen auf diesem Gebiet. Diesem Buch beigegeben sind Exkurse über den Seelenschmetterling und die Schicksalsgottheiten: Parze (bei den Römern) und Peri (bei den Persern).

Das 1921 erschienene Buch von der „*Sprache der Götter und Geister*", „Bedeutungsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zur homerischen und eddischen Göttersprache", ist neben dem sakralen Archaismus der ja ausserordentlich bedeutsam in jeder Religion ist, dem kaum weniger wichtigen Problem der sakralen Metapher gewidmet.

1923 erschien Günterts umfangreichstes Buch „*Der arische Weltkönig und Heiland*", „Bedeutungsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zur indo-iranischen Religionsgeschichte und Altertumskunde". Hier geht es um das semasiologische Grundmotiv von „*Binden*" und „*Lösen*", das für die Ethik der alten Inder und Iranier (die die internationale Sprachwissenschaft unter dem Namen „*Arier*" zusammenzufassen pflegt) den entscheidenden Glaubensinhalt versinnlicht und auch auf die Religion Zarathustras und Buddhas nicht ohne Auswirkung blieb. Es steht noch aus, dass ein religionswissenschaftlich versierter Theologe gründlich und objektiv zu diesem Monumentalwerk Stellung nimmt und Linien zum Christentum (entweder entgegengesetzte oder parallel laufende) beibringt, auch wohl im Einzelnen dieses Buch seiner Kritik unterzieht. — Umfassende Studien über altindische Gottheiten und die indoiranischen Sagen vom Gottmenschen hatten Güntert die zentrale Bedeutung von Varuna und Mitra erschlossen.

1928 entstand aus der Beschäftigung mit dem keltischen Sagenkomplex von der dämonischen Botin aus dem Totenreich das Parergon „*Kundry*", gewissermassen als *Nachtrag zu „Kalypso"*.

Aus seinen weiteren selbständigen Arbeiten sind vor allem seine mannigfachen Äusserungen zu Germanen und altgermanischer Religion zwischen 1934-1944 zu nennen, worunter der „*Altgermanische Glaube nach Wesen und Grundlage*“ von 1937 am bekanntesten sein dürfte. Aber „*Der Ursprung der Germanen*“ von 1934, „*Runen, Runenbrauch und Runeninschriften der Germanen*“ von 1934, die „*Geschichte der germanischen Völkerschaften*“ von 1943 und „*Die Schau der Seherin*“, ein Eddalied, erklärt und neu übersetzt, von 1944 ergänzen das Bild. Meines Erachtens bedarf in diesem Zusammenhang der Aufsatz von 49 Seiten „Labyrinth“ in den Sitzungsberichten der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften des Jahrgangs 1932 einer gründlichen Überprüfung. Aber wer könnte das ausser Güntert selbst?

Zur allgemeinen Orientierung, die diese Arbeit hier ja nur sein kann, sei erwähnt: Als die Urheimat der Germanen erscheinen die Küstenlandschaften um die westliche Ostsee. Nach Güntert kann aber die sogenannte „germanische Lautverschiebung“ (zB. nhd. *Vater* im Vergleich lat. *pater*), eine so radikale Veränderung des indoeuropäischen Konsonantenbestandes, wie sie sich bei keiner anderen indoeuropäischen Sprache oder Sprachengruppe findet, nur durch eine Völkermischung hervorgerufen worden sein. Germanisch ist demnach nach Güntert ein von einer Eroberschicht übernommenes Indoeuropäisch im Munde von Nichtindoeuropäern. Nach Güntert wäre eine so grosse sprachliche Veränderung unerklärbar, wenn die genannte Urheimat der Germanen auch die Urheimat der Indoeuropäer wäre. Wir folgen weiter Güntert: Im genannten Ostseegebiet ansässige Bauern (die sog. „Megalithkultur“) wurden von einem von Südosten eindringenden Hirten-Krieger-Stamm (die Schnurkeramiker sind ein Teil der sog. Streitaxtleute), der aus Mittelasien kam, unterworfen. In seinem Artikel „*Zur Frage der Urheimat der Indogermanen*“ in der *Festschrift für Friedrich Panzer zum 60. Geburtstag* (von 1930) gibt Güntert zahlreiche Gemeinsamkeiten zwischen dem ältesten Indoeuropäisch und ostasiatischen Sprachen. Günterts diesbezügliche wissenschaftliche Überzeugungen, an denen er sich trotz des Zeitgeistes in Deutschland seit 1933 nicht beirren liess, dürften (ohne dass ich mich irgendwie festlegen möchte) den neuesten Forschungen sowjetrussischer Archäologen und den überzeugenden Ausführungen der in Los Angeles, Kalifornien lehrenden Litauerin Prof. Dr. Marija Gimbutas (cf. „*The Indo-Europeans, Archaeological Problems*“ in „*The American*

Anthropologist", 65, 1963, pg. 815 ff.) über die sog. Kurgan-Kultur entsprechen, durch die aus anderen Gründen das mittlere Westasien als die indoeuropäische Urheimat angenommen werden kann. — Es versteht sich, dass sich je nach dieser Einstellung auch Rückschlüsse auf die indoeuropäische Religion ergeben dürften.

„Sein (Günterts) wohl erwogenes Urteil vermochten ausserwissenschaftliche Mächte nicht umzustossen." (Kienast). Mit diesem einen Satz ist Günterts Einstellung zu seiner Umwelt charakterisiert. „Der Lehmann'sche Verlag in München getraute sich nicht, Günterts Buch über den 'Ursprung der Germanen' herauszubringen, weil (Minister) Darré gegen die von Güntert vertretene Meinung Widerspruch erhoben hatte, sodass der fertige Satz (1934?) von einem anderen Verlag (Winter-Heidelberg) übernommen wurde. Güntert hat sich diese geistige Unabhängigkeit... auch in seiner... nach längerer Verzögerung 1943 erschienenen Schrift über 'Geschichte der germanischen Völkerschaften' erhalten. Sie zeigt ihn abermals so vielseitig und anregungsreich, dass man aufrichtig bedauern muss, wenn seine Arbeit seit längerem durch schwere Erkrankung verhindert wurde." (Panzer, 1943)

Güntert, der die vergleichende Sprachwissenschaft in einer selten umfassenden und lebendigen Weise betrieb, unterschied sich durch seine kultur- und religionswissenschaftliche Gelehrtenarbeit von seinen meisten Fachgenossen. Er ging hierin methodisch vor und „bereicherte diese Forschungsgebiete durch sprachwissenschaftlich einwandfreie Erkenntnisse." (Kretschmer)

Vom religionswissenschaftlichen Standpunkt aus ist besonders zu bedauern, dass ein wichtiger Teil seines Nachlasses, nämlich seine religionsgeschichtlichen Untersuchungen über Balder, auch über den *Sumpf- und Schwanengott* etc., unvollendet bleiben musste. Man kann sich zwar in ungefähr — nach seinen bisherigen Äusserungen — vorstellen, in welcher Richtung seine Forschungen gehen sollten. Doch war Güntert in wissenschaftlicher Hinsicht immer ein Mann der Überraschungen. — Mit der Sichtung des Nachlasses ist begonnen worden.

#### IV. Günterts wissenschaftliche Grundeinstellung

Güntert war m. E. zu wenig eingefleischter Systematiker, ein zu vielseitiger Mann, als dass er eine „Schule" begründen würde. Und doch ist es natürlich in seinem Sinn wichtig, dass die Forschungen in

dem von ihm eingeschlagenen oder gefestigten Weg weitergehen. So hätte es ihn gefreut, manche seiner Ergebnisse und Anregungen z.B. in dem Buch des derzeitigen Prof. Karl Schneider in Münster (Westfalen), *Die germanischen Runennamen, ein Versuch einer Gesamtdeutung* (Ein Beitrag zur indogermanisch-germanischen Kultur- und Religionsgeschichte), Meisenheim a. Glan 1956 weitergeführt zu sehen, wenn ich auch nicht im Zweifel bin, dass eine Besprechung dieses Buches durch Güntert noch manches Bedeutsame an Kritik und Weiterführung gebracht hätte.

Zum Schluss ist noch zu erörtern, wie Güntert die Zusammenhänge zwischen Sprache, Geist, Kultur und Religion gesehen hat. Beim Eintritt in die Redaktion der Zeitschrift „Wörter und Sachen“, Bd. 9, 1926, Heft 2, von der er 1938 mit dem 1. Bd. der Neuen Folge Hauptherausgeber wurde, schrieb Güntert u.a.: „Wichtiger als die Frage, wie die Sprachschöpfungen aussehen, ist die nach ihrer Funktion und Bedeutung“. Er sah, dass „sprachliche und allgemein-kulturelle Entwicklung miteinander Hand in Hand gehen, auch *nur* miteinander Erklärung finden müssen und können.“ (Die Herausgeber). In der Sprachgeschichte spiegeln sich alle nur denkbaren kulturgeschichtlichen Wandlungen besonders deutlich wider, wenn wir sie durch Einzel-Philologien, Archäologie, Geschichte, Völkerkunde und Volkskunde-Folklore (z.B. Sagen- und Brauchtumskunde) ergänzen, die alle zusammen ein sehr buntes Gesamtbild ergeben. Handelt es sich um religiöse Probleme, so tritt noch die vergleichende Religionswissenschaft hinzu.

Denn: „Gerade bedeutungsgeschichtliche Wandlungen lassen sich niemals aus einer isolierenden Betrachtung des Sprachkörpers selbst erklären, sondern nur wenn man den inneren Zusammenhang untersucht zwischen ... Wörtern und Sachen.“ (Güntert, 1926). Fraglos ergibt sich damit auch ein Zusammenhang sowohl zur Philosophie wie auch zur Religion.

Die Sprachwissenschaft mit ihrer *physiologischen* Seite (Güntert hielt für jeden Sprachforscher die Grundelemente der Phonetik für so unerlässlich, dass er einmal sogar mit dem damaligen Professor für Hals, Nase und Ohren Geheimrat Kümmel eine *gemeinsame* Vorlesung hielt), mit ihrer Laut- und Formenlehre, also von den Naturwissenschaften, schlägt eine *Brücke*, ein Band zu den Geisteswissenschaften in der *Sprachpsychologie*,

1. „da erst mittels dieses selbstgeschmiedeten sprachlichen Werkzeugs der Mensch zu *scharfem, höherem Denken* vordringen konnte“, ja
2. „*fast alle geistigen Werte uns durch die Sprache erst verdeutlicht werden*“ und
3. „aller Verkehr der Menschen nur mittels dieses ungeheuren *sozialen Faktors* der Sprache möglich ist.“ (Güntert in den „Grundfragen zur Sprachwissenschaft,“ 1925; 2., neubearbeitete Auflage von Prof. A. Scherer, 1956)

Wir haben also davon auszugehen, dass „sich die letzten Gründe des Sprachlebens . . nur *aus dem Geist des Sprechenden* entnehmen lassen.“ (Güntert, 1926) So ist also die Sprache eine *anthropologische*, zwar auch physiologische, aber noch mehr eine psychologische Frage, die Rückschlüsse auf den sprechenden Menschen ermöglicht.

Mir erscheint selbst nach unserer heutigen Erkenntnisstufe die Religion als das bedeutendste Gebiet der menschlichen Geisteskultur.

Der religiöse Wortschatz der Völker führt uns (wenn es nur gelingt, diesen im allgemeinen Bedeutungszusammenhang überzeugend zu klären) in fast unausdenklich frühe Zeiten menschlichen Denkens, ja wohl auch zu den frischen Quellen des Ursprungs der Religion.

Es muss einer späteren Zeit vorbehalten bleiben, aus diesem Rahmen die Einzelfragen herauszunehmen und dadurch ein tieferes und umfassenderes Gesamtbild Günterts zu geben, als es in diesem Hinweis möglich war.

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## IN MEMORIAM FRIEDRICH HEILER

Friedrich Heiler ist in der Nacht zum 28 April dieses Jahres gestorben. Es ist selbstverständlich, daß ihm in Numen ein in Memoriam gewidmet wird, sowohl wegen seinen Verdiensten als Religionshistoriker, als auch aus Dankbarkeit für die Arbeit, die er im Dienste der I.A.H.R. geleistet hat. Da Frau Professor Dr. Annemarie Schimmel in Numen, Vol. XIII, Fasc. 3 zu seinem 75 Geburtstag, am 30.1.1967, schon einen kurzen Lebensbericht geboten hat, wird der Verfasser dieses Nachrufes sich beschränken auf die Seite seiner Aktivität, die im Rahmen der Zielsetzung der I.A.H.R. relevant ist. Bekanntlich hat Heiler als vielseitig begabter Mensch sich auf verschiedenen Gebieten des Geisteslebens betätigt, die hier nicht berücksichtigt werden können. Auch bei dieser Beschränkung wird man nur einige vorläufigen Bemerkungen machen können. Denn die Zeit für eine eingehende Würdigung seines Werkes ist noch nicht gekommen.

Heiler hat sich frühzeitig einen großen Ruf erworben durch eine umfangreiche Studie, titulierte „Das Gebet, eine religionsgeschichtliche und religionspsychologische Untersuchung“, die in 1918 erschien, nachher in die englische, französische und schwedische Sprache übersetzt wurde und in 1923 seine fünfte Auflage erlebte. Wenn man bedenkt, daß der Verfasser dieses voluminösen Werkes 26 Jahre alt war, dann staunt man darüber daß ein so junger Gelehrter eine so große Belesenheit zur Schau tragen kann und daß er sein Thema so meisterhaft zu bewältigen weiß. Besonders die Beschreibung des mystischen und des prophetischen Gebetes hat die Geister gefesselt und zur gleichen Zeit die Kritik hervorgerufen. Leider hat Heiler in späteren Jahren das Thema nie wieder aufgegriffen um es noch eingehender und kritischer zu bearbeiten.

Aus dem selben Jahre 1918 datiert sich die Monographie über „Die Buddhistische Versenkung, eine religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung“, eine kleine Studie, die noch immer ihren Wert behalten hat. Es versteht sich, daß sie ein Nebenprodukt der ausgedehnten Untersuchungen über das Gebet ist. Wiederum bewundert man die gründliche Weise, in der dieses Thema behandelt ist. Zugleich spürt man wie stark Heiler sich kongenial fühlte mit dergleichen mystischen Erfahrungen. Davon

zeugt auch ein schöner Artikel über „Der Gottesbegriff der Mystik“, der in *Numen*, Vol. 1, Fasc. 2 publiziert wurde.

Da auch das Christentum Subjekt der Religionsgeschichte werden kann, dürfen hier zwei verdienstlichen Werke auf diesem Gebiet genannt werden. Es sind „Der Katholizismus“ (1923) und „Urkirche und Ostkirche“ (1937). Das erstere Buch enthält eine glänzende Analyse des Katholizismus. Die letztere Studie ist mehr ein Übersichtswerk.

Darauf dauerte es zwanzig Jahre bevor Heiler, abgesehen von vielen kleineren Aufsätzen und Schriften, wie er sie sein Leben lang verfasst hat, wieder eine größere religionshistorische Arbeit konzipierte. Es ist ein religionsgeschichtliches Handbuch „Die Religionen der Menschheit“ im Reclam Verlag in 1959 herausgegeben. Außer seiner Arbeit als Redakteur hat er eine große Anzahl von Artikeln beige-steuert. Leider hat er keine Monographie mehr verfasst, die als Seitenstück zu seinem Erstlingswerk gelten könnte. In 1961 publizierte er „Erscheinungsformen und Wesen der Religion“, ein sehr verdienstliches Werk von 605 Seiten, das sein fabelhaftes Wissen dartut, in dem aber die neueren Ansichten über die Methode und Struktur der Phänomenologie nicht verarbeitet sind.

Heiler hat sich als mehrjähriges Mitglied des Exekutiv Komitees um die I.A.H.R. sehr verdient gemacht. In 1960 erlebte er die Freude den religionshistorischen Kongress in Marburg begrüßen zu dürfen.

Ein großer Gelehrter, ein hochbegabter Mensch ist heimgegangen. Sein Name ist eingetragen in den Annalen jener Wissenschaft, die ihm am Herzen lag: die Religionsgeschichte.

C. J. BLEEKER

## KARL KERÉNYI SIEBZIG JAHRE

In diesem Jahr hat Prof. Dr., Dr. Theol. h.c. Karl Kerényi seinen siebenzigsten Geburtstag gefeiert. I.A.H.R. und ihre Zeitschrift *NUMEN* möchten darum hier ganz kurz an Kerényi und seine Forschungen erinnern. Diese sind nämlich tatsächlich vor allem dem Studium der klassischen Religionsgeschichte, zumal der Geschichte der griechischen Religion gewidmet. Seine erste grosse Arbeit „Die Griechisch-Orientalische Romanliteratur in religionsgeschichtlicher Beleuchtung“ aus dem Jahre 1927 ist eine bahnbrechende Leistung des damals nur dreissigjährigen Forschers. Sie hat eine nachhaltige Wirkung ausgeübt und es ist erfreulich, dass dieses Buch in einem Neudruck mit einem Geleitwort des Verfassers einer jüngeren Generation wider zugänglich ist. Ich möchte hier auch besonders seine tiefeschürfenden Forschungen über die Dionysosgestalt erwähnen. Sie sind für ein Verständnis dieses Gottes einfach unentbehrlich. Dass Karl Kerényi mit Meisterschaft die antike Mythologie und die Mythendeutung überhaupt behandelt hat, ist zu wohlbekannt als dass man es speziell zu unterstreichen brauchte. Hier hat die Fähigkeit Kerényis literarische Analyse zu treiben mit seinem feinen Verstehen für die Bedeutung des Mythos und seiner Liebe zu der antiken Religion eine glückliche Verbindung gefunden. Wie ganz wenige in unserer Zeit hat Kerényi auch über die grossen prinzipiellen Probleme der religionsgeschichtlichen Forschung nachgedacht. Er spricht davon mit der Autorität eines Forschers, der sein Gebiet souverän beherrscht. Auch philologisch, denn Karl Kerényi ist ein glänzender Philologe — ohne den gelehrten Ballast, den die mässigeren Philologen von Zunft so gerne zur Schau tragen. Kerényi gibt das Nötige, um die Deutung zu fördern, nicht mehr. *Esse, non videri* war der Grundsatz.

Dass dieser grosse Forscher nach dem Kriege, als er seine Heimatland Ungarn verlassen musste, an kleiner einzigen deutschsprachigen Universität eine Professur gefunden hat, dieses beschämende Verhältnis beleuchtet krass die Lage von heute an den europäischen Universitäten und in der sogenannten gelehrten Welt. Aber der grosse Humanist Kerényi, dessen gesammelte Schriften jetzt in einer Gesamtausgabe erscheinen, kann wohl darin Trost finden, dass die wirklich bahnbrechenden

brechenden Forscher eigentlich auf dem humanistischen Gebiet nie mit Begeisterung aufgenommen sind. Die nicht ganz wenigen Mitforscher aber, die seine Leistung zu schätzen wissen, denken mit Dankbarkeit an das, was schon geleistet ist, und senden ihm ihre besten Wünsche für die Zukunft in der Verhoffnung, noch vieles von ihm lernen zu können.

GEO WIDENGREN

## MIRCEA ELIADE SIXTY YEARS OLD

Prof. Mircea Eliade shares with Prof. Kerényi the talent for literature and the interest in depth psychology. It is no fortuitous coincidence that both belong to the great names of the lecturers at the "Eranos-Tagungen" of Ascona. In the field of the history of religion they moreover share a common predilection for the study of the myth and its setting in life. But although starting from a philological basis in Sanskrit and Indian studies Mircea Eliade has moved rather far away from both India and philology. However, some of his best and most known works remain within the sphere of Indian religion, such as his books "Le Yoga, Immoralité et Liberté indienne" and "Techniques du Yoga". But from India Eliade moved northwards to the Central Asiatic and Eurasiatic regions with his admirable "Le Chamanisme et les Techniques Archaïques de l'Extase", and in all his small volumes published by Gallimard he has covered more or less the whole earth—but with a marked emphasis on the cultures and religions of illiterate peoples. Some of these books have been real best-sellers, also in English and German translations, for Prof. Eliade is possessed of an easy style and a suggestive and persuasive manner of arguing. It is quite obvious that these books, very often concerned with the study of symbolism, have met a real need among our time's educated public. A preliminary summary of Eliade's phenomenological views were given in his "Traité d'Histoire des Religions", which by the way is not at all historically orientated, but purely phenomenological, though also the German translation has a rather misleading sub-title "Elemente der Religionsgeschichte". I mention this fact, in itself a trifle because there has been some discussion concerning the method, used by Eliade and his pretended lack of sense for history — an accusation which I personally consider founded on a misunderstanding.

As shown by the last observation Prof. Eliade is still a subject of discussion, and this because he himself has contributed so much to the discussion of the problems treated by him. He has really meditated on the methods of the study of religion and he has written some words of criticism concerning people — like the writer of these lines — who are too much occupied by historical and philological problems and there-

fore miss something of the necessary survey of the field. I have really appreciated this word of warning, but I feel that something could be said in defence of our methods too. However, these lines are not meant as "plaidoyer" for my own methods, but as a small expression of thanks for what Mircea Eliade, one of the great names in our field, has meant for the both historical and phenomenological study of religion. His attachment to the University of Chicago is a source of inspiration for research work and teaching in America. It is from the European point of view a pity that Europe missed its chance and that U.S.A. took it.

GEO WIDENGREN

# INDOGERMANISCHES IN DER VÖLUSPÁ

VON

ÅKE V. STRÖM,

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Unter den Edda-Liedern nimmt die *Völuspá* (*Vsp*) durch ihr Thema eine absolute Sonderstellung ein. Zwar gibt es auch im *Vafþrúðnismál* und *Grímnismál* wichtige eschatologische Stellen, aber nur in der *Vsp* haben wir eine durchgeführte Schilderung der Urzeit und Endzeit vor uns, und nur da spricht eine prophetische Gestalt. Sie ist ausserdem das Universellste aller Edda-Lieder.<sup>1)</sup>

## I. DIE FORSCHUNGS-LAGE

Die Ansichten über das Alter und die Bedeutung des Gedichtes schwanken beträchtlich.<sup>2)</sup> Für A. HEUSLER ist der Verfasser „ein isländischer Kleriker . . . in den 1050 er Jahren”.<sup>3)</sup> H. DE BOOR macht aber darauf aufmerksam, eine Strophe des Gedichtes sei durch einen Skalden im Jahre 1065 nachgeahmt.<sup>4)</sup> *Vsp* und verwandte Gedichte (*Grímnismál*, *Vafþrúðnismál*, *Baldrs draumar*, *Lokasenna*, *Völuspá in skamma*) stammen aus „einer religiösen Gemeinschaft . . . Es war die Skaldengruppe der Lade-Jarle, um die es sich handelt”.<sup>5)</sup> Sigurður

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1) So Peter HALLBERG: “Med självklar rätt får *Völuspá* (Valans spådom) inleda Codex Regius . . . det mest universella av alla eddakväden” (*Den fornisländska poesien*, 2 uppl., 1965, S. 28).

2) Mit Recht sagt G. TURVILLE-PETRE: “There has been more controversy about the *Völuspá* than about any lay in the Edda” (*Origins of Icelandic literature*, S. 58).

3) A. HEUSLER, *Die altgermanische Dichtung*, 1923, S. 181. Noch später setzt das Gedicht E. H. MEYER (siehe unten).

4) H. DE BOOR, in: *GA*, S. 339. Gemeint ist wohl *Arnórr þórðarsons þórfinnsdrápa*, Str. 24: *Björt verðr sól at svartri, / sökkr fold í mar dökkvan* (*Kock*, S. 162), die *Vsp* 41 und 57 nachbildet. Das tut aber schon ältere Gedichte: *Þjóðolfr ór Hvini* (9. Jahrh.) deutet in *Haustlög* Str. 7 (*Kock*, S. 10) auf das Loki-Bild von *Vsp* 35 und *Einarrr skálaglam* in *Vellekla* (986 e.Kr.) Str. 16 (*Kock*, S. 67) auf die neue Erde in *Vsp* 62 f. A. JAKOBSEN findet offenbare Beziehungen zwischen *Vsp* und *Helg. Hund. I* (MOM 1966. S. 3-6).

5) H. DE BOOR, in: *Dt Isl.* S. 71, 130.

NORDAL, der ausführlichste und vielleicht beste Kommentator unter den Neueren, tritt für eine Abfassung gerade vor dem Jahre 1000 ein.<sup>6)</sup> Birger NERMAN hat aus archäologischen Gründen festlegen wollen, dass die *Vsp* aus der Merowingerzeit, zunächst 650-700, stamme.<sup>7)</sup> Finnur JÓNSSON findet im Gedicht Anspielungen auf die Streitigkeiten unter dem norwegischen König Erich Blutaxt und behauptet darum, es sei im Jahre 935 geschrieben worden. Astronomisch gesehen stimmt das, sagt Vilh. MARSTRAND, mit den angeblich in der *Vsp* geschilderten Finsternissen des Mondes am 28. Jan. 929 und der Sonne am 16. April 934.<sup>8)</sup> Eine vor Kurzem gegebene Zusammenfassung schreibt: „Vergessen wir aber nicht, dass dieses grossartige Gesicht kein alter, im Kultus verankerter Text ist; es ist das Werk eines späten, schöpferisch tätigen Dichters“.<sup>9)</sup>

Noch mehr gehen die Theorien über die Herkunft des Stoffes auseinander. Die alte, mehr unbewusste Erklärung war der Meinung, die *Vsp* stellte eine *typisch nordische Eschatologie* dar ohne eigentliche Ähnlichkeiten mit anderem mythologischen Stoff.<sup>10)</sup>

Die nächste Auffassung rechnete mit einem starken aussernordischen überwiegend *christlichen Einfluss*, der aus irischen Klöstern nach Island gekommen sei,<sup>11)</sup> ja, E. M. MEYER wollte die ganze Stoffmasse in mittelalterlichen Postillen wiederfinden, vor allem in einer Auslegung des Hohen Liedes, verfasst in den Jahren 1100-1125 von Honorius von Augustodunum († omkr. 1156).<sup>12)</sup> Die *Vsp* sei darum erst nach diesen Jahren geschrieben.<sup>13)</sup>

6) Das Ergebnis seiner Untersuchung ist, „að Völuspá sé ort rétt fyrir 1000“ (*Völuspá gefin út með skýringum af Sigurði Nordal*, S. 123). So auch TURVILLE-PETRE (*a.a.O.* S. 61) und G. DUMÉZIL: „Um das Jahr 1000, vielleicht in die Mitte des 10. Jh. anzusetzen“ (*Loki*, 1959, S. 10, Fussn. 13).

7) B. NERMAN, Hur gammal är Völuspá?, in: *ANF* 73, 1958, S. 1-4. Einwände von B. COLLINDER in: *ANF* S. 61-63.

8) Knut LUNDMARK, När författades Valans spådom?, in: *Cassiopeia*, S. 96.

9) R. L. M. DEROLEZ *Götter und Mythen der Germanen*, 1963, S. 291.

10) So vor allen K. MÜLLENHOFF, *Über die Völuspá*, 1883.

11) S. BUGGE, *Studier over de nordiske Gude- og Heltesagns Oprindelse*, 1881-89. Auch der Isländer B. M. ÓLSEN betrachtete Völuspá als ein christliches Monument, in: *Tímarit hins íslenska bókmenntafélags*, 15, 1894, S. 79-89, obwohl er zugibt, Völuspá sei „full af fornum heiðnum sögnum og hugmindum“ (S. 80).

12) E. H. MEYER, *Völuspá*. Eine Untersuchung, 1889, und Ders., *Die eddische Kosmogonie*, 1891. Auch im Hohen Lied finden sich iranische Wörter (RINGGREN, *Das Hohe Lied*, S. 1 und 17), so daß der indo-iranische Einfluß auch auf diesen Weg kommen könnte (siehe S. 198).

13) Der Inhalt der *Vsp* ist nach Meyer folgender: Einleitung (Str. 1-2), die



Eine dritte Theorie wurde vor mehr als 75 Jahren von dem Schweden Viktor RYDBERG ausführlich herausgearbeitet. In seinen beiden grossen Bänden „Untersuchungen zur Germanischen Mythologie“<sup>14)</sup> sucht er den Zusammenhang verschiedener nordischen Mythen mit entsprechenden aus Iran und Indien nachzuweisen. Unter den Überschrift „Germanische Mythen altarisches Ursprungs“ behandelt er auch die Mythen der *Vsp* und ihren indogermanischen Hintergrund.<sup>15)</sup> Professor RYDBERG konnte sich aber bei den damaligen Gelehrten nicht Gehör verschaffen. Der einflussreiche Vertreter der nordischen Philologie Adolf NOREEN, der in die Fusstapfen des oben erwähnten E. H. MEYERS trat,<sup>16)</sup> verglich in einer Besprechung die Forschungen Rydbergs mit einer Erörterung der Frage, ob sich das Abenteuer Ledas mit dem Schwan vor oder nach derjenigen Europas mit dem Ochsen abgespielt hätte.<sup>17)</sup> Er schrieb: „Rydberg hat in seiner grossen Arbeit den chronologischen Zusammenhang in den Mythen hergestellt, den es früher nicht gab, allerwenigst in heidnischer Zeit“.<sup>18)</sup> Danach wurde RYDBERG totgeschwiegen.<sup>19)</sup>

Statt dessen trat Axel OLRİK mit einem vierten Standpunkt auf. In zwei monumentalen Darstellungen suchte er *zwischen christlichen und heidnischen Bestandteilen in der Eschatologie* der Nordmänner zu unterscheiden.<sup>20)</sup> Heidnisch waren nach Olrik folgende zehn Momente: die Sonne vom Sonnenwolf verschlungen, Fimbulwinter, die Erde sinkt ins Meer, Loki kommt los, Fenriswolf, die Schlange in der Tiefe, der Götterkampf mit dem Fall des Götterkönigs und der Rache für ihn,

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Schöpfung (3-18, wo manches als unecht erklärt wird), der Sündenfall und dessen Folgen (19, 21-26), die Erlösung (27-29, 31, 33, 35), Hölle und Paradies (36-39), Vorzeichen des Jüngsten Gerichtes in der Natur (40-44), Vorzeichen auf Erden und Himmel (45-49), der Anfang des Gerichts (50-58), die neue Welt und das Kommen des Christus zum Gericht (59-66).

14) V. RYDBERG, *Undersökningar i Germanisk Mythologi*, 1-2, 1886, 1889.

15) RYDBERG, 2, S. 6-182.

16) A. NOREEN, in: *Nordisk Tidskrift*, Neue Folge 3, S. 201-212.

17) NOREEN, in: *Svensk Tidskrift* 2, S. 182.

18) NOREEN, in *Svensk Tidskrift*, S. 181.

19) Vgl. NORDAL über die Arbeit RYDBERGS: „Er það ritað af miklu andríki og lærdómi, en megingalli þess er sá, að höfundur gerir hvorki sér né lesandanum ljóst, hvar lærdóminn þrýtur og andríkið tekur við“ (*a.a.O.* S. 10) und NECKEL: „Rydberg hat poetische Gedankenspiele“ (in: *Dt Isl.* 1930, S. 15).

20) A. OLRİK, Om ragnarök, I, in: *Aarbøger for nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie*, 1902, S. 157-291, II, in: *Danske Studier*, 1913 f., S. 1-283. Hier nach der deutschen Auflage, Ragnarök, 1922, zitiert.

Surts Lohe, das neue Göttergeschlecht und das überwinterte Menschengeschlecht.<sup>21)</sup> Vier von diesen Momenten erklärt er als keltischer, zwei als persischer und vier als allgemeiner Einfluss. Christlichen Ursprungs, aber bereits in der Vikingerzeit auf heidnischen Boden bekannt, sind die Motive Muspells Leute und Balders Kommen, und endlich christlichen Ursprungs, der *Vsp* eigentümlich, sind folgende sechs Motive: Verderbnis der Menschheit, das Gjallarhorn verkündet Ragnarök, die Sonne wird schwarz und die Sterne fallen herab, der Weltbrand, die Glückseligkeitswohnung und das Kommen des Mächtigen.<sup>22)</sup>

Drei von diesen Standpunkten wurden immer aufs neue in unsrem Jahrhundert wiederholt und verarbeitet — alle ausser derjenige Viktor RYDBERGS. Die Isländer Finnur JÓNSSON und Sigurður NORDAL betonten das Heidnische in der *Vsp*.<sup>23)</sup> Der Letztere machte geltend, dass „die ganze Grundlage und der grösste Teil des Inhaltes heidnisch ist“. <sup>24)</sup> Auf Grund einer genauen stilistischen Analyse kam DE BOOR zu demselben Ergebnis. <sup>25)</sup> Vor allem in Auseinandersetzung mit OLRİK knüpfte KROHN dagegen an Meyer an und verfocht eine christliche Bilderwelt“. <sup>26)</sup> Auch die Einflusstheorie hatte Vertreter. In zwei Untersuchungen trat Richard REITZENSTEIN dafür ein, die nordischen Weltuntergangsverstellungen gehen auf manichäischen Einfluss zurück, und diese eschatologischen Vorstellungen seien als Teil eines Gesamtsystemes zu den Nordgermanen gekommen. <sup>27)</sup> Und H. H. SCHAEDEr schrieb: „Die Parallelität von Urmensch und Urrind, die Bildung der Welt aus dem Körper des Urmenschen, die Entstehung des ersten Menschenpaares aus zwei Bäumen — diese Züge des altnordischen Mythos genügen schon, um den Zusammenhang mit dem iranischen

21) OLRİK, *a.a.O.* S. 131.

22) *Ders.*, *a.a.O.*

23) F. JÓNSSON, *Völuspá*, 1911, *Ders.*, *Den oldnorske og oldislandske litteraturs historie*, 2. Aufl., 1920-24, I, S. 130-33, S. NORDAL, *Völuspá*, 1923.

24) „I *Völuspá* er öll undirstaða og meginíð af efni heiðið“ (NORDAL, S. 120). Vgl. H. NAUMANN: Die Botschaft der *Völuspá* „ist bis ins Tiefste hinein ganz unchristlich gedacht“ (*Germanischer Schicksalsglaube*, 1934, S. 29).

25) „Das alles ist wirkliche heidnische Religion“ (DE BOOR, in: *GAS.*, 339). Vgl. *Ders.*, in: *Dt Isl.*, S. 129.

26) K. KROHN, *Skandinavisk mytologi*, 1922, S. 164-174.

27) R. REITZENSTEIN, in: *Kyrkohistorisk Årsskrift* 1924 und in: *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg*, 1923-24.

Mythen zu erweisen".<sup>28)</sup> Auf der Orient als Urquell der Urzeit- und Endzeitschilderungen der Völuspá deuteten auch Franz Rolf SCHRÖDER (vor allem auf den Manichäismus und die Mithrasreligion) und Will-Erich PEUCKERT.<sup>29)</sup> In einer Forschungsübersicht hat EDSMAN 1948 psychologische und kosmologische Parallelen zum Vers 2 der *Vsp* gesucht ohne auf die Frage nach der Herkunft des Stoffes näher einzugehen.<sup>30)</sup>

OLRIKS Linien verfolgen mehrere unter den neuesten Auktoren. Noch im Jahre 1964 bleibt E. O. G. TURVILLE-PETRE hier stehen: „Although much criticized in recent years, the most thorough study of all the incidents in the Ragnarök is that of A. Olrik".<sup>31)</sup> Andere betonen die schöpferische Tätigkeit des Dichters, die Altes und Neues zusammengegossen hat.<sup>32)</sup> Ein 'moderner' Heide hat etwas Persönliches gegeben: „Nach ihrem Ideeninhalt steht die Völuspá an der Grenze zwischen Heidentum und Christentum; sie schildert in apokalyptischen Gesichtern das Weltdrama, durch die Mythen des Asenglaubens gesehen . . . Die Mythen sind Erbsagen aus verschiedenen Zeiten, teilweise uralte".<sup>33)</sup> Für W. BETZ enthält die *Vsp* „Verse verschiedener Herkunft, verschiedenen Alters, kultische Verse auch, die der heidnisch-reformatorische Neudichter hier zusammengefügt und zu einer kleinen Summa des späten Heidentums erweitert hat".<sup>34)</sup> „Der letzte

28) H. H. SCHAEDEER, in: *SAS*, 1926, S. 252. Eine nützliche Zusammenfassung der Ergebnisse dieser Richtung gibt H. HEMPEL, in: *GRM* 16, 1928, besonders S. 191-194.

29) F. R. SCHRÖDER, in: *GRM* 19, 1931, spez. S. 89-98, und W.-E. PEUCKERT, in: *ARW* 32, 1935, S. 29-35.

30) C.-M. EDSMAN, Återspeglar Völuspá 2 : 5-8 ett schamanistiskt ritual eller en keltisk åldersvers?, in: *ANF* 63, 1948-49, S. 1-54.

31) E. O. G. TURVILLE-PETRE, *Myth and religion of the North*, 1964, S. 329.

32) So schon H. BUTTGEREIT, in: *Zeitschr. für Deutsche Bildung*, 15, 1939, S. 200, Fussn. 1.

33) „Till sitt idéinnehåll står Völuspá på gränsen mellan hedendom och kristendom; den skildrar i apokalyptiska syner världsdramat, sett genom asatrons myter . . . Myterna äro arvsägner från skilda tider, delvis uråldriga" (Anna Z. OSTERMAN, in: *Scripta Islandica* 4, S. 16). Vgl. E. EHNMARK: „Dikten handlar om världens tillblivelse och om dess undergång. Völuspá är en enskild diktares verk och kan därför inte utan vidare till intäkt för en mera allmän uppfattning. Det är också troligt, att kristna tankegångar har påverkat dikteren, men i det stora hela står han på den gamla religionens grund och det är svårt att frigöra sig från tanken att här sammanfattas något av det väsentliga i fornnordisk tro" (*Etiska idéer*, S. 12).

34) W. BETZ, in: *Deutsche Philologie im Aufriss*, 2. Aufl., 1962, col. 1547.

Völuspá-Dichter lebte in den Zeiten eines heidnisch-christlichen Synkretismus", und man weiss nicht „wieviel hier individuelle Dichtung bzw. Reformstreben, und wieviel hier allgemeiner und etwa alter Glaube ist".<sup>35)</sup> Bestimmter spricht sich TURVILLE-PETRE aus: „The poet expresses individual rather than popular views".<sup>35a)</sup>

Mit einem Zwischenraum von 26 Jahren hat Jan DE VRIES die *Vsp* behandelt. Einmal schrieb er: „Wir können als Ergebnis unserer Betrachtung feststellen, dass der Dichter der Völuspá nicht eine schon damals bekannte mythische Erzählung von den letzten Dingen poetisch hat behandeln, sondern dass er eine Weltanschauung hat aussprechen wollen".<sup>36)</sup> Nicht weit davon entfernt behauptete er noch vor fünf Jahren, der Dichter habe alte Mythen umgewandelt und neue geschaffen. „Diese Vision ist aber, wie ich meine, das Ergebnis seines eigenen Grübelns und seiner geheimsten Hoffnungen".<sup>37)</sup>

De Vries' Landsmann, R. L. M. DEROLEZ, ist vorsichtiger, nimmt aber dieselbe Stellung ein: „Obwohl man kaum in der Lage ist, mit Sicherheit festzustellen, ob einzelne Züge von anderen Völkern oder Religionen herkommen, so unterliegt es doch keinem Zweifel, dass sich das Gedicht als Ganzes ohne fremde Impulse nicht recht erklären lässt".<sup>38)</sup>

Nach den Forschungen von Georges DUMÉZIL und Stig WIKANDER über die Kultur- und Religionsbeziehungen der Indogermanen,<sup>39)</sup> muss aber jetzt auch die Frage von dem Ursprung der Vorstellungen und Bilder in der *Vsp* anders gestellt und beantwortet werden. Diese Frage soll jetzt in zweifacher Weise erörtert werden: erstens das Verhältnis des Stoffes zur Mythologie der anderen indogermanischen Religionen, zweitens die Beziehung zwischen der Völuspá und dem iranischen Bundahišn.

35) *Ders.*, col. 1550 f.

35a) TURVILLE-PETRE, *Myth and religion*, 1964, S. 276 (vgl. S. 281 f.).

36) J. DE VRIES, in: *GRM* 24, 1936, S. 11.

37) *Ders.*, in: *ANF* 77, 1962, S. 42.

38) R. L. M. DEROLEZ, *De godsdienst der Germanen* 1959, deutsche Übers. 1963, S. 291.

39) Siehe vor allem DUMÉZIL, „Leçon inaugurale," 1950, und „L'idéologie tripartite des Indo-Européens," 1958, WIKANDER, in: *La Nouvelle Clio*, 7, S. 310-329, und in: *ANF* 75, 1960, S. 183-93. Über das deutsche Wort Indogermanen (statt Indoeuropäer), das durch den Schüler Müllenhoffs (siehe S. 168, Note 10) *Gustav Kossinna* gewöhnlich wurde, vergleiche Jan FILIP, *Enzyklopädisches Handbuch*

## II. ALLGEMEINE INDOGERMANISCHE MOTIVE IN DER VÖLUSPÁ

Eine Reihe von Motiven in der *Vsp* sind uns aus verschiedenen Teilen des indogermanischen Religionsgebietes, und meistens *nur aus diesem*, bekannt. Es dreht sich also um spezifisches Gemeingut. Auf die schon wohlbekannten Motive, z.B. die oben S. 170 von SCHAEDEER erwähnten Punkte oder die von DUMÉZIL herangezogenen,<sup>40)</sup> gehe ich nicht näher ein, um mich um so mehr an einige neue zu halten.

In dem vielumschriebenen und vielumstrittenen Str. 2<sup>41)</sup> spricht die Seherin (*vala*) ihre weitältesten Erinnerungen aus. Sie entsinnt sich der uralten Riesengestalten (*jötna ár um borna*), die sie auferzogen (oder warum nicht geboren?) haben (*mik fædda höfðu*), und sagt dann:

<i>Nú man ek heima</i>	Ich erinnere mich neun Welten
<i>nú íviði</i>	neun im Baume (oder: neun Heime),
<i>mjötvið mæran</i>	des ruhmvollen Messbaums
<i>fyr mold neðan.</i>	unter der Erde. <sup>42)</sup>

In ihrer ekstatischen Vision schaut die Seherin den Anfang der Zeiten, wo der Weltbaum mit den neun Stufen noch ein Same war. „Der Baum selbst ist das Mass für die Existenz der umgebenden Welt — in der Zeit“. <sup>43)</sup>

Ähnliche kosmologischen Visionen unter inspirierten Zuständen <sup>44)</sup> sind uns besonders aus Indien und Iran bekannt. Der *ṛṣi Mārkaṇḍeya* schaut die verschiedenen Weltalter, den Urmenschen (*puruṣāya*) und den Hochgott mit vielen Namen (u.a. *Yama*, vgl. unten), der auf dem Nyagrodha-Baum sitzt. <sup>45)</sup> Zarathustras und andere iranische Visionen (z.B. *yasna* 30 : 3 und *Bahman yašt*) mit *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* 8 : 12,5

zur Ur- und Frühgeschichte Europas, Bd I, S. 530 und 626.

40) Der Vanenkrieg (vgl. unten, S. 178), der Tod Balders (unten S. 188).

41) Über die verschiedenen Standpunkte siehe (ausser den Kommentaren) C.-M. EDMAN, in: *ANF* 63, 1948-49, S. 8-24, P. HALLBERG, ib. 67, 1952, S. 149.

42) Nach der Ausführung EDMANS (*a.a.O.* S. 51) ist entweder *í viði*, „im Baume“, oder (mit *F. Jónsson*) *íviði*, „grosse Streckungen = Äste“ zu lesen. Neulich hat A. JAKOBSEN einen guten Gedankenreim in Zeile 6 vorgeschlagen: *núu hībili*, 'neun Heime' (*MoM* 1963, S. 91 f.).

43) HALLBERG, *a.a.O.* S. 149. Vgl. EDMANS „kronologische Auffassung von Völuspá 2“ (*a.a.O.* S. 30), die von Hallberg nicht angeführt wird.

44) Über die psychologischen Kennzeichen echter Inspiration siehe z.B. Åke V. STRÖM, *Der Hirt des Hermas*, S. 7-18. Vgl. S. GUTENBRUNNER, Über *ek* und *hon* in der Völuspá, in: *ANF* 67, 1957, S. 7-12.

45) *Mahābhārata* 3 : 188-191. Dazu REITZENSTEIN in: *SAS*, S. 83 f. und WIDENGREN, *Religionens värld*, S. 96 f.

zusammenstellend, schreibt WIDENGREN: „Vermutlich stehen wir hier vor indo-iranischen Theorien über das ekstatische Schauen, Theorien, die vielleicht schon in indo-europäischer Zeit ihren Ursprung haben und die in der Folgezeit sich eines langen Lebens erfreuten“. <sup>46)</sup>

Die indo-iranische Parallele fängt schon in Str. 1 an. Zarathustras „Lehre ist eben, genau wie in Indien, *śruti*, etwas Gehörtes“, <sup>47)</sup> z.B. „Verkünden will ich: nun vernehmet, höret!“ (*yasna* 45 : 1). In *Bahman yašt* „findet sich ein Dialog zwischen *Ahura Mazdā* und Zarathustra. Zarathustra schildert seine Visionen“. <sup>48)</sup> Genau dasselbe finden wir in der *Vsp*, Str. 1:

<i>Hlióðs bið ek allar</i>	Gehör heische ich aller
<i>helgar kindir...</i>	heiligen Sippen...
<i>Vildu, at ek, Valföðr,</i>	Du willst, Walvater,
<i>vel fyrtelja...</i>	dass ich verkünde...

Der Inhalt des folgenden Gesichts ist indogermanisch: die Urwesen (*jötnar*), vor allem *Ymir* (Str. 3), viele nach einander geordneten Welte, der Weltbaum als Mass der verschiedenen Weltalter und zugleich als Inbegriff des Kosmos. <sup>49)</sup> Die Seherin sieht neun Welten, wie *Mār-kandeya* sechs Weltuntergänge und sechs Weltschöpfungen erlebt hat (*Mahābhārata* 3 : 188 ff.). <sup>50)</sup> Aber auch die Neunzahl ist indogermanisch (vgl. *Vafþrúðnismál* 43). Zwar kommt sie als Zahl der Vollen- dung auch bei Ägyptern und Chinesen vor, aber die allermeisten typischen Beispiele finden sich bei den Iranern, Griechen, Kelten und Germanen. <sup>51)</sup>

In Str. 3 liegen zwei Lesarten vor: *Ár var alda, þat er Ymir byggði* in Cod. Regius (R) und dem *Hauksbók* (H) und *Ár var alda, þat er ekki var* in *Snorra Edda* (*SnE*). Welche die Beste ist, hat die Forschung nicht entscheiden können. Sollte hier *Ymir* genannt sein, aus dessen Leib die Welt geschaffen ist (*Vafþrúðnismál* 21, *Grimnismál* 40 f.) und alle Riesen hervorgegangen sind (*Hyndluljóð* 33 [*Völuspá*

46) Geo WIDENGREN, *Die Religionen Irans*, S. 70, Beispiele S. 67-73.

47) Ders., *a.a.O.* S. 67.

48) Ders., *a.a.O.* S. 68.

49) Über den Weltbaum in *Völuspá* 2 siehe M. ELIADE, *Traité d'histoire des religions*, S. 229 f., 238 f., 255. Dort: „Le Cosmos est vu sous forme d'un arbre géant“ (S. 229) mit indoiranischen Parallelen (S. 236 f.).

50) EDSMAN, *a.a.O.* S. 30.

51) FR. HEILER, *Erscheinungsformen und Wesen der Religion*, S. 169 f. Viele germanische Beispiele erwähnt HAMMERICH, in *Festschr. Leyen*, S. 165-67.

in skamma 5]), taucht sogleich die Frage auf nach dem Zusammenhang mit dem indogermanischen Urmenschen namens Yama-Yima (z.B. *Vidēvdāt* 2 : 2-11) oder etwas anderem, dessen Leib mit der Welt identisch, <sup>52)</sup> ja, auch mit dem Weltbaum zusammenfallend ist. <sup>53)</sup> Snorri weiss, dass Ymir etwas mit Bur oder Bor zu tun hat (*Gylfag.* 7), und dieser Bur taucht auch in *Vsp* 4 auf. Wie schon GÜNTERT unwidersprechlich gezeigt hat, ist *Ymir* mit sanskr. *Yama* und avest. *Yima*, wie auch mit *Tuisto* bei *Tacitus* (*Germ.* 2), identisch. <sup>54)</sup>

Die andere Lesart in Völuspá 3 <sup>55)</sup> wird direkt in den Zeilen 6 f. fortgesetzt:

<i>þat er ekki var ...</i>	... was nicht war ...
<i>jörð fannz æva</i>	Erde gab est nicht,
<i>né upphiminn</i>	noch Himmel oben.

Das klingt nicht nur mit dem Wessobrunnergebet zusammen: *dat ero ni was noh ufhimil*, <sup>56)</sup> sondern auch mit dem indischen Schöpfungshymnus:

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52) Vgl. darüber in zeitlicher Reihe: REITZENSTEIN und SCHAEDEER, in: *SAS*, 1926, S. 6-32, 84, 211-225, 296 f., STRÖM, *Vetekornet*, 1944, S. 231-238, G. WIDENGREN, *The great Vohu Manah* (*UUA* 1945 : 5), S. 42-75, A. OLERUD, *L'idée de macrocosmos et de microcosmos*, 1951, S. 128-143, 147, S. HARTMAN, *Gayōmart*, 1953, S. 42-44 *et passim* und WIDENGREN, *Die Religionen Irans*, 1965, S. 8-10.

53) OLERUD, *a.a.O.* S. 181 f.

54) H. GÜNTERT, *Der arische Weltkönig*, S. 315-343. A. CHRISTENSEN (von Güntert nicht erwähnt) hatte Ymir mit dem Urmensch des Mandäismus zusammengestellt (in: *Archives d'Etudes Orientales*, 14, S. 35 ff.), während FR. BÖRTZLER behauptet, Snorris Ymir habe nichts mit dem der Völuspá zu tun sondern stamme aus dem Kirchenvater *Lactantius*, *Divinae Institutiones* II : 9, 15 ff. (in: *ARW* 33, S. 230-245). Die Deutung GÜNTERTS stimmt DUCHESNE-GUILLEMIN vorsichtig bei (Ormazd et Ahriman, S. 43 f.). Vgl. jetzt W. H. GOEGGINGER, „Hermann Güntert als Religionsforscher“, in: *Numen* XIV, 1967, spez. S. 155 f.

55) *SnE*, *Gylf.* 4.

56) Dazu GÜNTERT, *a.a.O.* S. 333. Vgl. den Ausdruck *jörð ok upphiminn* in *Vafþr.* 20, *brymskv.* 2, *Oddr.* 17, *Heliand* 2885 f. (*ertha endi uphimil*), an einem Runenstab (*iørþ ... ok uphimaen*) aus Ribe (HAMMERICH, in: *Festschr. Leyen*, S. 150-52), und an der einzigen versifizierten Runenschrift in Schweden: *iærþsal-rifnaukubhimin*, was von FRIESEN so auffasst:

<i>jörð skal rifna</i>	die Erde soll zerreißen
<i>ok uphiminn</i>	und der Himmel.

(*Södermanlands runinskrifter*, S. 117). Anders fasst den Text AA. KABELL auf, in: *ANF* 77, S. 54: *iærþ skal rifna auk sua himin*, was ungefähr denselben Sinn ergibt.

Nicht was Nichtseiendes (*asat*) noch war Seiendes (*sat*) damals, nicht war der Luftraum, noch der Himmel darüber.

(*Ṛgv.* 10 : 129 : 1) <sup>57)</sup>.

Keine nichtindogermanische Parallele, auch nicht *Enuma eliš* I : 1, hat das typische: „was nicht war“ (so auch *Bdh* 30 : 6) <sup>57a)</sup>.

I Str. 4 lesen wir nun:

<i>Äðr Burs synir</i>	bis Burs Söhne
<i>bjöðum um yppu</i>	den Boden hoben.

Das ist die erste „Erdhebung“, und damit stehen die Worte in Str. 59 in Verbindung: „Aufsteigen seh' ich / zum andern Male / aus dem Meer die Erde“. Denselben Vorgang vollzieht *Brahmā* in Indien:

*Nārāyaṇa*, der *Brahmā* genannt ist ... erhob die Erde auf seine hervorragenden Hautzähnen aus den niedrigsten Gegenden (*Viṣṇu purāṇa* 1 : 4) <sup>58)</sup>.

In derselben Strophe liest man, dass die neugeschaffene Erde bewachsen wird *grænum lauki*. Man übersetzt gewöhnlich „mit grünem Kraut“ oder „mit grünen Gräsern“ (*Genzmer*), aber *laukr* kann hier seine ursprüngliche Bedeutung „Zwiebel“ haben. Die Zwiebel ist ein altes Sinnbild des Lebens und der Zeugung. In der *Guðrúnarkviða* II: 2, ist Sigurðr *sem grænn laukr ór grasi vaxinnn*, „wie grüner Lauch, der im Grase wächst“. Eine andere uralte Eddastelle (*Sigrdrífumál* 8) <sup>58a)</sup> hat die Phrase *verpa lauki í lög*, „in den Labetrunk Lauch werfen“ (in der Magie). Das Wort (*laukaR*) erscheint auf eine Reihe von dänischen Brakteaten, <sup>59)</sup> und auf einem beinernen Messer aus Fløksand in Norwegen aus dem 4. Jh. wird in urnordischen Runen „Leinen

57) Übers. *Lommel*, S. 120. Dazu GONDA, *Die Religionen Indiens* I, S. 181.

57a) SCHIER, in: *Festschr. Leyen*, S. 311-15.

58) Übers. *Wilson*, S. 30: „*Nārāyaṇa* who is named *Brahmā*... uplifted upon his ample tusks the earth from the lowest regions As he reared up his head, the waters shed from his brow“. Dieser *purāṇa* beschreibt die Schöpfung am besten (DOWSON, *A classical dictionary of Hindu mythology*, S. 362. Vgl. *Ṛgv.* 10 : 72 : 6 f. *Ramāyaṇa* 11 : 110 : 3.

58a) So F. JÓNSSON: „Dette vers er ægte i digtet“ (*De gamle Eddadigte*, S. 250) und *CIV*: „one of the oldest heathen poems“ (s.v. *signa*). Als Wiederhall der alten hyperkritischen Tönen MØGKS und BAETKES erreicht uns die Worte Ernst WALTERS: „Str. 8 fällt heraus“ als „späte Zutat“! (*Festschr. Baetke*, S. 364).

59) JACOBSEN-MOLTKE, *Danmarks Runeinskrifter*, Nr. 6, 24, 29, 63 und 67. vgl. 57 und 80 (S. 120-131).



und Lauk" (*lina laukaR*) genannt. <sup>60)</sup> Dasselbe ist der Fall in *Völuspátttr*, wo ein Ritus angedeutet wird, der durch den in Zwiebeln gewickelten Hengstphallus und durch das obszöne Zwiegespräch sofort an die Riten des grossen indischen Pferdeopfers, *āsvamedha*, erinnert. <sup>61)</sup>

Str. 8 sagt, dass die Götter Tafel spielten (*tefldu*), bis drei *pursa meyyjar*, 'Riesenmädel', die Freude und den Frieden zerstörten. <sup>62)</sup> Das Spiel, das wir z.B. aus dem *rājasūya* kennen, <sup>63)</sup> ist die ordnende und schicksalsbestimmende Macht. <sup>64)</sup> Solange die Götter spielen, herrscht Friede. Aber jetzt kommt der Zwiespalt in die Welt. Wie die griechische Eris durch drei schöne Göttinnen auf dem Ida-berge Zwiespalt und Krieg unter Göttern und Menschen erregt, <sup>65)</sup> so erregen auch die drei Mädchen auf dem Ida-feld Habsucht und Neid unter den Asen. <sup>66)</sup> Das Ergebnis sehen wir in Str. 21-26: die Asen nehmen gefährliche Gaben an = *Gullveig* (Str. 21), der Vanenkrieg bricht aus (Str. 24 : 1), und die Vanen siegen durch List:

60) *Norges Indskrifter med de ældre runer*, II: 1, S. 648-76, III, S. 264-66, und dazu S. EITREM, „Lina laukar,” in *Festschrift für A. Kjaer*, S. 85-94, und W. KRAUSE, *Runeninschriften im älteren Futhark*, S. 453-62.

61) Der Text in: *Flateyjarbók* 2, S. 331-35. Für *Völuspátttr* siehe Folke STRÖM, *Diser, nornor, valkyrior*, S. 22-28, für *āsvamedha* P. DUMONT, *L'Āsvamedha*, und J. GONDA, *Die Religionen Indiens* I, S. 168-172, für den Zusammenhang beider siehe K. F. JOHANSSON, *Über die altindische Göttin Dhiṣṇā*, S. 108-123.

62) Vgl. J. PETERSEN, „Bretspil i forhistorisk tid,” in: *Oldtiden* 4, S. 75-92, und A. G. VON HAMEL, „The game of the gods,” in: *ANF* 50, S. 218-42, mit keltischen Parallelen.

63) L. RENOU-J. FILLIOZAT, *L'Inde classique*, I, S. 357 f., GONDA, *a.a.O.* S. 140 und 166.

64) So auch *Mahābhārata* 2 : 60-65, 76, *Paulus Diaconus* 1 : 20, *Tac. Germ.* 24 (vgl. das ganze Lied *Rgveda* 10 : 34) und dazu DE VRIES, in: *GRM* 24, S. 8, *Altgerm. Rel.-gesch.* 1, S. 435-37, A. HOLTSMARK, „Brettspill,” in: *KLex.* 2, Sp. 223-226, wo keine von den obigen Stellen angeführt werden.

65) *Hom. Il.* XXIV : 28-30, *Kypria (Homeri Opera* 5, S. 102), *Isocratis Orat.* X : 41 : Οὐ πολλοῦ γὰρ χρόνου διελθόντος, γενομένης ἐν θεοῖς περὶ κάλλους ἔριδος ... Der Eris-Mythus „does appear likely to be really old” (H. J. ROSE, *A Handbook of Greek Mythology*, S. 106 f. und 128 Note 17).

66) „Það fer vafalaust næst anda kvæðisins að álíta hinar þrjár þursa meyyjar... sendar til þess að kveikja ágirud (Neid) og ójöfnuð (Zwiespalt) með goðum” (NORDAL, *Völuspá gefin út*, S. 136 f.). Íðavöllr in *Völuspá* 7 und 60 ist ein *hapax legomenon* (F. JÓNSSON, *Völu-Spá*, S. 37, vgl. DE VRIES, *Altnord. etym. Wörterbuch*, S. 283). Besteht eine Verbindung zwischen dem griechischen Namen Ida und dem isländischen Íða? Dazu die Kuh-Göttin *Idā* (*Śatapathabr.* 1 : 8 : 1).

<i>þat var enn</i> <sup>67)</sup> <i>fólkvíg</i>	Das war nochmals der [oben besprochene]
<i>fyrst í heimi</i> ; (vgl. Str. 21)	erste Völkerstreit der Welt;
<i>brotinn var borðveggr</i>	gebrochen war der Bordwall
<i>borgar ása,</i>	der Burg der Asen,
<i>knáttu vanir vígspá</i> <sup>68)</sup>	die Vanen konnten mit Sejd
<i>völlu sporna.</i> <sup>69)</sup>	übers Feld vordringen.

Dies Hervordringen ist dadurch vorbereitet und sogar bewirkt, dass die Gabe der Vanen, *Gullveig*,<sup>70)</sup> mitten unter den Feinden deren Unheil durch Sejd hervorruft (Str. 22):

<i>Heiði hana hétu</i>	Man nannte sie Hexe,
<i>hvars til húsa kom,</i>	als sie in den Häusern kam,
<i>völu vel spá;</i>	die wohlwahrsagende Vala;
<i>vitti hon ganda;</i>	sie zauberte Stäbe,
<i>sejð hon, hvars kunni</i>	trieb Sejd, wo sie konnte,
<i>sejð hon leikin.</i> <sup>71)</sup>	trieb Sejd in Ekstase.

Zu dem Allem könnte man Vorbilder suchen in dem trojanischen Pferd, um dessen Willen die Mauer zerstört wurde,<sup>72)</sup> aber vor allem hat G. DUMÉZIL gezeigt, dass das *fólkvíg fyrst í heimi*, 'der erste Völkerstreit der Welt', habe seine genauen Parallelen in der Aufnahme der *aśvinau*, im Sabiennerstreit der mythischen Geschichte Roms u.s.w.,<sup>73)</sup>

67) Dieses *enn* bedeutet so viel wie: „Hier hast Du also diesen ersten Krieg, von dem ich vorher gesprochen habe“ (DE VRIES, in: *ANF* 77, S. 44). Über *fólkvíg* RYDBERG, *Teutonic mythology*, S. 139-185.

68) Dies Wort in den beiden alten Handschriften (mit der Bedeutung 'Kampf-Wahrsagung') hat man seit 1848 in *vígská*, 'kampfbetreten' (zu Felt) zu ändern gepflegt, was unnötig ist (F. JÓNSSON, *De gamle Eddadigte*, S. 7 f.). Vgl. *Ynlinga saga*, Kap. 4.

69) DE VRIES: „Den Wanen, die der Schlacht ausgesetzt waren, gelang es, das Feld zu betreten, d.h. siegreich vorzurücken“ (*ANF* 77, S. 43). Über *völlr* als Terminus für Schlachtfeld siehe ÅKE V. STRÖM, in: *Festschr. Bactke*, S. 334, über *borg brotin* siehe JAKOBSEN, in: *MoM* 1966, S. 1 f., 5 f.

70) Vgl. W. BETZ: „Die Asen stiessen mit Speeren Gullveig (eine Zauberin, eine Wanin?) nieder“ (*a.a.O.* col. 1549). Vgl. RYDBERG, *Undersökningar* 2, S. 87-95, und GRÖNBECH, *Kultur und Religion der Germanen*, II, S. 338.

71) Textform und Auffassung der beiden letzten Zeilen nach STRÖMBÄCK, *Sejd*, S. 17-21. Vgl. RYDBERG, *Teutonic mythology*, S. 325-28. Mit Hinweis auf *hug-brigðr* (*Hávamál* 102) und *hugblauðr* (*Hárbardsljóð* 49) macht JAKOBSEN geltend, dass Handschrift H mit ihrer *hugleikin* (*Vsp* 22 : 6) das Rechte getroffen hat (*MoM* 1963, S. 80 f.).

72) *Hom. Od.* IV: 271-289 und VIII: 492-520.

73) Die Auffassung DUMÉZILS von diesem indogermanischen Vorgang ist allmählich zustandegekommen. Siehe seine Arbeiten *Jupiter, Mars, Quirinus*, 1941, S. 136-66, II, 1944, S. 128-93, *Tarpeia*, 1947, S. 249-69, *L'heritage indo-européen*, 1949, S. 125-42, *L'ideologie tripartite*, 1958, S. 34 f., 56, 86 f., *Les dieux des Germains*, 1959, S. 15-29. DUMÉZIL hat nicht *fólkvíg* mit „dem grossen Krieg“ (*artik i vazurg, Zatspram* 34 : 52) zusammengestellt.

und S. WIKANDER hat etwas Gleiches betreffs *Nakula* und *Sahādeva* in *Mahābhārata* bewiesen.<sup>74)</sup> Man verwendet, wie DUMÉZIL 1959 gesagt hat, „des considerations comparatives indo-européennes, impliquant filiation commune, et non pas simplement typologiques, universelles”.<sup>75)</sup> Die Methode hilft uns, unsichere Vermutungen abzulehnen.<sup>75a)</sup>

Noch ein Paar solche Motive erwähne ich hier kurz. Der *mistilteinn* (Str. 31) ist, wie ich anderswo gezeigt habe, mit dem *hlautviðr* (Str. 63) als Zweig des Lebens und des Todes verwandt.<sup>76)</sup> Dieser lebensspendende und in Unglücksfällen totbringende Zweig ist, wie ich meine, mit sanskr. *barhis*, (z.B. *Ṛgv.* 8 : 17 : 1 und 10 : 15 : 3), avest. *barasman* (z.B. *Vidēvdāt* 3 : 1, 8 : 3) übereinstimmend.<sup>77)</sup>

In Str. 42 tauchen drei Hähne auf, einer auf Erden, einer im Himmel, einer unter der Erde. Von dem zweiten heisst es in Str. 43:

<i>Gól um ásum</i>	Es krächte ob den Asen
<i>Gullinkambi,</i>	Güldenkamm :
<i>sá vegr hólða.</i>	er weckt die Männer.

74) S. WIKANDER, in: *Orientalia Succana* 6, S. 66-96. Vgl. Ders., in: *Religion och Bibel*, 6, 36-38.

75) DUMÉZIL, *Les dieux des Germains*, S. 22.

75a) So ist es eine lose Vermutung, wenn man den 'Völkerstreit' historisiert: „Religionssoziologisch gesprochen bedeutete der Ausgleich zwischen Asen und Wanen die Versöhnung der Bauernreligion mit der Kriegerreligion" (PHILIPPSON, *Die Genealogie der Götter*, S. 19). Einer ähnlichen alten Meinung ist noch Ö. BRIEM, *Vanir og æsir*, 1963, S. 7-12, 69-71, der behauptet, Dumézils Theorie „verður að telja með ólíkindum" (S. 12). — Eine neuere Vermutung sei auch erwähnt: weil psychische Reinigung dann und wann mit Brennen verglichen wird, so beschreibt die Gullveig-Strophe „ein solches läuterndes Geschehen des Brennens... und nicht nur das vergänglich bleibende Verbrennen-Wollen der Goldrausch-Hexe" (R. W. FISCHER, in: *Antaios* 4, 1963, S. 586). Weil die Mystik von *purgatio*, *illuminatio* und *unio* spricht, so bedeutet Gullveigs dreimalige Verbrennen (*Vsp* 21 : 7) Läuterung, Wandlung, Vergeistigung (a.a.O. S. 587). In einer Darstellung, wo fünf Abteilungen mit dem Wort 'unmissverständlich' einsetzen (um das vollständige Missverständnis zu verhüllen?) macht FISCHER, durch die angebliche Etymologie *víg* < *vigja* zu *vê*, geltend, dass *fólkvíg* 'heilige Handlung des Volkes' bedeutet (S. 593) und die ganze Strophe auf den ältesten aller Riten, die sich täglich wiederholende Reinigung der Seele, Bezug nimmt (S. 594)!

76) ÅKE V. STRÖM, in: *La regalità sacra*, S. 705-707.

77) STRÖM, a.a.O. S. 707, OLDENBERG, *Die Religion des Veda*, S. 342 f., WIDENGREN, *Die Religionen Irans*, S. 29. — „Auch das dem Barhis entnommene Grasbündel, das man zum Schutz gegen das kraftgeladene Wort beim Rezitieren eines Stotras in die Hand nahm, trägt diesen Namen" (GONDA, *Die Religionen Indiens* I, S. 141, Note 8). Die Mistel ist als Pflanze des Lebens auch von den keltischen Druiden angesehen: *Nihil habent Druidae... visco... sacratius... Omnia sanantem appellat suo vocabulo* (Plinius, *Nat. hist.* 16 : 95). Vergl. *Verg. Aen.* VI: 136-44, 205 f.

Dasselbe Bild leitet die sog. *Bjarkamál* ein:

<i>Dagr's upp kominn,</i>	Der Tag steigt empor,
<i>dynja hana fjaðrar,</i>	es braust das Gefieder des Hahns,
<i>mál's vílmögum</i>	es ist für Sklaven Zeit
<i>at vinna erfiði.</i>	ihre Arbeit zu tun.
<i>Vaki ok æ vaki!</i>	Wachet, nun wachet!
	(Kock, S. 91).

Oberflächlich gesehen könnte behauptet werden, der die Menschen weckenden Hahn (vgl. Matth. 26 : 34, 74 f.) wäre ein allzu allgemeines Beispiel, um etwas in unseren Zusammenhängen zu bedeuten. Aber man achte darauf, dass es Hühner z.B. in der Kultur des Alten Testaments nicht gab. „Dieses Haustier scheint in Vorderasien durch die Meder und die Perser hereingeführt worden zu sein“. <sup>78)</sup> Im Avestā aber heisst es: „Der Vogel, der Hahn (*parōdərəs*) genannt wird... erhebt seine Stimme gegen die mächtige Morgenröte: ‘Steht auf, Menschen, preiset Aša, verfluchet die *drug!*’“ (*Vidēvdāt* 18 : 15 f.).

Eine verborgene Schwierigkeit bereiten folgende Strophen:

47. *hræðiz allir á helvegum*

52. *troða halir helveg*

Die erste nur im H vorkommende Stelle wird meistens so wiedergegeben: „in Angst sind alle in der Unterwelt“ (*Gering*).

Der Ausdruck *troða halir helveg* (Str. 52) wird immer ganz unbefangen etwa so übersetzt: „zur Hel ziehn Männer“ (*Genzmer*) oder sogar: „Hel schlingt die Menschen“ (*Gering*). Ja, kein geringerer als F. JÓNSSON schreibt über das Wort *helveg*: „es kann nur dasselbe wie *hel*, Hels Wohnort, das Reich der Toten, bedeuten“, <sup>79)</sup> und OLRÍK: „*halir* als ‘Helbewohner’ aufgefasst“. <sup>80)</sup>

Hier kann der indogermanische Hintergrund zur Hilfe kommen. Der indische Totenglaube kennt zwei Wege. (*Rgv.* 10 : 18 : 1, *Ath.* 18 : 4 : 62). <sup>81)</sup> Der eine ist der *deva-yāna*, ‘Götterweg’ (*Atharvaveda* 15 : 12 : 5). Er führt durch die Flamme, den Tag, die lichte Monatshälfte,

<sup>78)</sup> *Svenskt Bibliskt Uppslagsverk*, utgivet av I. Engnell, 2. Aufl. 1962, Art. Höns.

<sup>79)</sup> „kan kun betyde det samme som *hel*, Hels bolig, de dødes rige“ (JÓNSSON, *De gamle Eddadigte*, S. 14).

<sup>80)</sup> OLRÍK, *Ragnarök*, S. 54, Note 1.

<sup>81)</sup> K. F. JOHANSSON, *Solfågeln i Indien*, S. 20, G. WIDENGREN, in: *Expository Times* 76, S. 364.

das Sommerhalbjahr, das Jahr, die Sonne, den Mond, den Blitz in die Welt des Brahmā (*Chāndogya-up.* 5 : 10 : 1 f., *Bṛhadāraṇyaka-up.* 6 : 2 : 15). Dagegen führ der *pitṛyāna*, 'Väterweg' (*Ṛgveda* 10 : 2 : 7) durch den Rauch, die Nacht, die dunkle Monatshälfte, das Winterhalbjahr — aber nicht durch das Jahr — durch die Vorfahrenwelt, den Raum zum Mond und von dort durch Raum, Wind, Rauch, Nebel und Regen auf die Erde zurück (*Chānd.-up.* 5 : 10 : 3-6, *Bṛhad.-up.* 6 : 2 : 16). Der Götterweg war der Pfad der Brahmanen und der Kṣatriyas; bei ihrer Bestattung benutzte man die östlichen, bzw. nördlichen Stadttore. Der Väterweg aber war der Pfad der Vaiśyas und der Śūdras, und sie wurden durch die westlichen, bzw. südlichen Stadttore hinausgebracht.<sup>82)</sup> Von den beiden Wegen heisst es:

Geh fort, o Tod, auf deinem eignen Wege,  
der von dem Götterweg verschieden abführt.  
(*Rgv.* 10 : 18 : 1)

Der Weg des Todes ist der *helveg* (= *pitṛyāna*), der durch *ragnarokkr*, 'Götterdämmerung' (*Lokasenna* 39) führt. In derselben Strophe wie *helvegr* (*Vsp.* 52) wird gesagt, *Surt* käme von Süden (*sunnan*), der Weltgegend des Todes nach indischer Auffassung, während Thor den Loki so bedroht:

<i>upp ek þér verþ,</i> <i>ok á austrvega,</i> <i>siðan þik manngi sér!</i>	Ich werfe dich hinauf, und ostwärts <sup>83)</sup> sieht dich keiner mehr! ( <i>Lokasenna</i> 59).
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Das alles legt die Übersetzung vom Str. 52 nahe, die COLLINDER, ohne vielleicht den Hintergrund zu bedenken, vorgeschlagen hat: „Männer betreten den Hel-weg“.

### III. DIE VÖLUSPÁ MIT DEM BUNDAHIŠN VERGlichen

Wir finden aber nicht nur Parallelen aus verschiedenen Teilen des indogermanischen Gebietes sondern spezielle enge Übereinstimmungen zwischen der *Vsp* und dem mit Kosmogonie und Kosmologie erfüllten

82) Siehe ARBMAN, in: *ARW* 25, S. 359-373, P. MEURLING, *De fyra väderstrecken*, S. 132 f.

83) d.h. 'unter den Göttern'. Die gewöhnliche Interpunktion, mit dem Beistrich nicht nach *verþ* sondern nach *austrvega*, gibt schlechteren Sinn.

*Bundahišn* (*Bdh*) auf Pehlevi. Vom Urmensch-Gedanken ins besondere, aber auch von der ganzen kosmologischen Spekulation, gilt die Worte WIDENGRENS: „Nel *Bundahišn* questa speculazione — nella quale si possono sequire le tracce risalendo indietro fino ai tempi indo-iranici — ci è conservata come estratta da un perduto trattato della *Avestā*“. <sup>83a)</sup>

Die vier Weltperioden des *Bdh* berühren sich mit den indischen *yuga*'s (*Mahābh.* 3 : 188; 12 : 231):

1. *kṛta*, das goldene Zeitalter, in dem die Menschen als die Tischgäste der Götter leben,
2. *tretā*, in dem die Menschen Mann und Weib werden und ihre Lebensdauer um ein Viertel abnimmt,
3. *dvāpara*, in dem Gesetzlosigkeit und Verfall zunehmen,
4. *tiṣya* oder *kali*, in dem Sünde und Katastrophen ihren Höhepunkt erreichen. <sup>84)</sup>

Noch enger sind aber die Beziehungen zwischen der *Vsp* und dem *Bdh*. Die vier Stufen sind folgende:

### 1. Die himmlische Schöpfung

#### *Völuspá*

Strophe 2-8: Schöpfung der Welt (neun Welten?) und des Weltbaumes.

#### *Bundahišn* <sup>85)</sup>

Alles Geschaffene is *mēnōk* (von *mainyu*, 'Geist'), 'geistig'. <sup>86)</sup>

### 2. Das materielle Dasein

Strophe 9-20: Schöpfung der Zwerge und der Menschen.

*Mēnōk* wird *gētīk*, 'materiell'. Die Menschen sind sündenfrei.

### 3. Das Hereinstürzen des Bösen

Strophe 21-58: der Vanenkrieg

Die Mischung (*gumēčišn*) von

<sup>83a)</sup> WIDENGREN, *Religione dell'Iran antico*, S. 540. Allgemeines über *Bdh* siehe Ders., *Die Religionen Irans*, S. 5.

<sup>84)</sup> Über die *yuga*'s siehe DOWSON, *A classical dictionary*, S. 381-383, und über die Übereinstimmung zwischen der indischen und der iranischen Weltalterslehre WIDENGREN, *Religionens värld*, S. 350-357.

<sup>85)</sup> Vgl. H. S. NYBERG, *Die Religionen des alten Iran*, S. 28 f.

<sup>86)</sup> DUCHESNE-GUILLEMIN zieht die Übersetzung 'unsichtbar' vor (*Ormazd et Ahriman*, S. 142), NYBERG sagt 'himmlisch, transcendent' (*a.a.O.* S. 28).

(Str. 21-25), <sup>86a</sup>) der Mord an Balder (31-35) und der Kampf der Götter gegen böse Mächte (43-58).

Gutem und Bösem durch *Ahrimans* Hereinstürzen.

#### 4. Die Reinigung der Welt

Strophe 59-66: Wiederherstellung der Welt (59-62) und gereinigter Kult (63-66).

Reinigung (*vičarišn*) und Verklärung (*frašōkərəti*) der Welt und Rückkehr in den Urzustand.

Eine Verschiedenheit ist, dass die Erlösergestalten im *Bdh* erst in Periode 4 anlangen, während sie in der *Vsp* schon in Periode 3 da sind: *Vali*, der Bruder *Baldrs*, rächt schon einen Tag alt seinen Tod (Str. 32 f.), und *Viðarr* durchbohrt den Fenriswolf (Str. 55). Im indischen Denken tritt ein Erlöser in jeder Periode (*yuga*) auf. <sup>87)</sup>

Auch in Einzelheiten decken sich oft die beiden Apokalypsen, und besonders Gewicht lege ich darauf, dass dieselben Motive in derselben Reihenfolge wiederkehren. Wir bemerken folgende 21 Momente.

#### 1. Die Urkluft im Anfang

##### *Völuspá*

3 : 7 *Gap var ginnunga*. <sup>89)</sup>

Gähnung war grundlos.

##### *Bundahišn*

1 : 4 (1 : 5) <sup>88)</sup> Zwischen ihnen [Licht und Finsternis] war ein leerer Raum (*tōhīgih*) — einige nennen ihn *vāi* (den Luftkreis) — wo jetzt die Mischung (*gumēčišn*) ist. Vgl. *Zātspram* 1 : 1.

(Übers. G. Widengren, S. 59). <sup>90)</sup>

86a) Es mag befremdlich vorkommen dass die Vanen, der dritte Stand nach Dumézils Theorie, hier in der Rolle des Bösen erscheinen, Aber nach eddischer Auffassung sind die Vanen (wie DE BOOR, in: *Dt Isl*, S. 115, hervorgehoben hat) dann und wann böse: *Freyja* ist *meini blandin mjök* (*Lokasenna* 32 : 3), *Njörðr* ist *inn meins vani*, 'der an Böses gewöhnte' (*Grimm*. 16 : 5), nicht 'makellos' oder 'des Bösen bar'.

87) WIDENGREN, a.a.O. S. 353. Zur Periodeneinteilung in der *Vsp* kann man die alte Anmerkung HEUSLERS heranziehen: „Eine Gliederung in drei Teile — Vergangenheit, Gegenwart, Zukunft: 'ich gedenke, ich sah, ich sehe' — symmetrisch durchgeführt, wahrt den Eindruck einer abrollenden Handlung" (*Die altgermanische Dichtung*, 1923, S. 180).

88) Die ersten Ziffern bezeichnen den indischen *Bundahišn*, die in Klammern den grossen (iranischen) *Bundahišn*.

89) Vgl. *Rgv.* 10 : 129 : 1: *gahanam gabhīram* (auch g-Alliteration!), 'der tiefe Abgrund'. Dazu GÜNTERT, *Der arische Weltkönig und Heiland*, S. 333.

90) Ich folge der Übersetzung *Widengrens*, wo sie vorhanden ist, sonst *Justis* oder *Westis*, verglichen mit *Anklesaria-Bode*.

## 2. Sonne, Mond un Sterne

5 : 5-10 *sól þat né vissi  
hvar hon sali átti  
stjörnur þat né vissu,  
hvar þær staði áttu,  
máni þat né vissi,  
hvat hann megins átti.*  
Die Sonne kannte  
ihre Säle nicht;  
Die Sterne kannten  
ihre Stätte nicht;  
der Mond kannte  
seine Macht noch nicht.

2 : 1 *Ahura Mazdāh* schuf zwischen  
Himmel und Erde Lichter, Fixsterne  
und Wandelsterne, dann den Mond,  
dann die Sonne.  
(Übers. *Justi* VI : 4)

## 3. Götterverführung

8 : 5-8 [Die Götter spielen]  
*unz þrjár kvómu  
þursa meyjar*<sup>91)</sup>  
*ámátkar mjök  
ór Jötunheimum.*  
bis drei gewaltige  
Mädchen kamen,  
Töchter der Riesen,  
aus Thursenheim.

3 : 1-8 (4 : 1-9) [Mitten im göttlichen  
Frieden kommen Verführerinnen und  
eine von ihnen, *Jahi*, spricht:] Er-  
hebe dich, Vater, denn wir wollen  
jenen Streit beginnen, durch den  
*Öhrmazd* und die *Amahrspanden* in  
die Enge getrieben werden und Un-  
heil haben sollen!"  
(4 : 2, Übers. *Widengren*, S. 91).<sup>92)</sup>

## 4. Die ersten Menschen unvollkommen

17 : 5-8 ...*þrír æsir...*  
*fundu á landi  
lítt megandi,  
Ask ok Emblu,  
ørlöglauða.*  
...drei Asen...  
fanden am Land,  
ledig der Kraft  
Ask und Embla,<sup>93)</sup>  
ohne Schicksal.<sup>94)</sup>

15 : 2 f. (14 : 6 f.) ... wuchsen in Gestalt  
einer Rhabarberstaude mit einem  
Stengel und 15 Blättern *Mahrē* und  
*Mahryānē* aus der Erde empor, der-  
gestalt, dass ihre Hände an den  
Schultern lagen. Und, eines mit dem  
anderen verbunden, waren sie im-  
merfort von demselben Stamm...  
dass es nicht offenbar war, welches  
der Mann sei und welches das  
Weib.<sup>95)</sup>

(Übers. *Widengren*, S. 75 f.).

91) Die drei Mädchen werden von NORDAL als Verführerinnen aufgefasst, „sem gera endasleppan gullaldur og ánægju Ása, fagar og lævisar jötnameyjar, sendar til þess að kveikja ágirnd og ójöfnuð með goðum“ (*a.a.O.* S. 136 f.).

92) Vgl. die Verführung bei Theodor bar Kōnai, WIDENGREN, *a.a.O.* S. 92, und auf dem Idaberge, oben S. 177.

93) Parallelen bei BETZ, *Die altgerm. Rel.*, col. 1548 f. Vgl. *Hesiodos*: die Menschen des dritten Weltalters sind ἐκ μελιῶν, „aus der Esche“ (*Erga kai hemerai* 145) und zu Embla mhd. Embila, urgerm. \*ambilon = griech. ἄμπελος, 'Weinrebe' (NORDAL, *a.a.O.* S. 52). Vgl. RYDBERG, *a.a.O.* II. S. 69-71.

94) Darüber ÅKE V. STRÖM, *Scandinavian belief in fate*, S. 73.

95) Vgl. teils die Rede des Aristophanes im *Symposion* des Plato (189 E-191 A),



## 5. Die Menschen bekommen Seele und Tätigkeit

- 18 : 5-8 Önd gaf Óðinn,  
 óð gaf Hæmir,  
 lá gaf Lóðurr...  
 Atem gab Odin,  
 Seele gab Hömir,  
 Leben gab Lodur...  
 15 : 4 (14 : 8). Die Seele (*rúbān*) wurde  
 in den Leib gelegt, damit sie die  
 Tätigkeit bewirke.  
 (Übers. *Justi* XXXIII : 18 f.).  
 15 : 5 Der Atem (*nismō*) ging geistlich  
 in sie, was Seele (*rúbān*) ist.  
 (Übers. *West*).

Die Frage vom Wesen des Gottes Hömir ist oft erörtert worden. Guðbrandur Vigfússon schlug schon 1883 vor, Hömir sei ein Vogel.<sup>96)</sup> Die Deutungen und Vorschläge sind dann sehr verschieden: Hömir ist der Kranich (H. J. FALK, 1889)<sup>97)</sup> oder der weisse Storch (V. RYDBERG, 1889, B. SCHNITTGER, 1916, K. HELM, 1926),<sup>98)</sup> Hömir, der Gefährte Óðins = Ullr (H. SCHÜCK, 1904),<sup>99)</sup> Hömir ist der Hahn oder der Kranich (E. HELLQVIST, 1916) und als solcher einer der ältesten Götter,<sup>100)</sup> Hömir ist kein Vogel sondern 'der Herr der Seelen' = Óðinn (FR. R. SCHRÖDER, 1918)<sup>101)</sup> oder Hæmir < \**Huhnijaz*, 'der Leuchtende' (W. KROGMANN, 1932), vgl. griech. *κρυκεῖνος* von *κρυκος* 'weiss', 'glänzend',<sup>102)</sup> Hömir ist ein Óðinn-Repräsentant oder

teils *Brhadār.-up.* 1 : 4 : 1 : „Der Atman war so gross wie ein umarmendes Paar, zerfiel aber in zwei Teile (*apatayat*), aus denen Mann (*pati*) und Weib (*patnī*) hervorgingen“.

96) VIGFÚSSON, *Corpus poeticum Boreale* 1, S. CII f. (RYDBERG, *Teutonic mythology*, S. 500).

97) FALK, in: *ANF* 5, S. 258 f., Note 1.

98) RYDBERG, *Teutonic mythology*, S. 500 f., SCHNITTGER, der vieles Material über die Vorstellung vom kinderbringenden Storch bietet, in: *Fornvænnen* 11, S. 110 f., und HELM, in: *Nollau, Germanische Wiedererstehung*, S. 337, wo er auf die Schwierigkeit, das Alter dieser Vorstellung festzustellen, deutet.

99) „Höner är nämligen ingen annan än Óðins gamle kamrat Ull“ (SCHÜCK, *Studier i nordisk litteratur- och religionshistoria*, II, S. 228).

100) HELLQVIST, in: *Namn och bygd* 4, S. 143-151. — „Så långt ifrån, att [Hömir] kunde räknas till de yngre västnordiska gudarna, att han i stället i ålder kan mäta sig med de allra äldsta“ (*a.a.O.* S. 151).

101) SCHRÖDER, in: *PPB* 43, S. 238 f. — Über Rydberg schreibt er: „Kritiklos übernahm der schwedische dichter [*sic!*] Viktor Rydberg in seinen 'Undersöknin-gar' Vigfússons ausführungen. Hatte dieser noch die wahl zwischen schwan und storch gelassen, so entschied sich R. für den letzteren und erörtert eingehend das ammenmärchen (ja, darum dreht es sich ja eben in christlicher zeit!) vom storch, der die kleinen kinder aus dem teich holt (I, 552; im II. bande (s. 35) zieht er die indische mythologie zu rate“ (*a.a.O.* S. 228).

102) KROGMANN, in: *APhSc* 6, S. 324 f. — Noch andere Aufsätze über Hæmir von J. PALMER (Stud. Kock, 1929) und G. VAN LANGENHOVE (*Linguist. stud.* 2, 's-Gravenhage 1939). JÓHANNESSON nennt keine Literatur nach Krogmann (Isl. Etym. Wörterbuch. S. 205 f., *s.v. Keuq*).

-Priester 'in Hahngestalt' (A. HOLTSMARK, 1950), <sup>103</sup>) Hönir ist der schwarze Storch, mit der Odin-Schwalbe identisch (Folke STRÖM, 1956), <sup>104</sup>) und nochmals der Kranich (E. ELGQVIST, 1957) <sup>5</sup>). Einigkeit herrscht jetzt über seinen Vogelcharakter. <sup>6</sup>) Folgende vier Gründe: die Ethymologie (*Hænir* < *hæna* < germ. *\*hōnjōn* < indogerm.  $\sqrt{*kan-}$  > lat. *conia*, *ciconia*, 'Storch') <sup>7</sup>), die iranische Parallele in *Bdh* 15 : 4, der indische menschenzeugende *Viṣṇu*-Vogel und die nordische noch heute märchenhaft geläufige Vorstellung vom Storch als Überbringer von Neugeborenen — dürfte in die Richtung eines alten Mythos deuten: Hænir, der Storch, gibt den (von Odin) neugeschaffenen Menschen die Seele (*óð*), wie in Iran die Seele (*rūbān*) erst nachher in die Menschen gelegt wird. <sup>108</sup>)

#### 6. Der Weltbaum mit weisser Flüssigkeit begossen

19 : 1-4

*Ask veit ek standa,  
heitir Yggdrasil,  
hár baðmr, ausinn  
hvíta auri...*

Eine Esche weiss ich stehen  
sie heisst Yggdrasil,  
den gewaltigen Baum  
netzt weisses Nass.

18 : 1 (16 : 5) Der weisse, heilende, unbefleckte  
*Hōm* ist nahe am Baume [aus vielen Samen]  
gewachsen im Strom *Arēdvīsūr*; wer ihn isst  
wird unsterblich; sie nennen ihn den *Go-kard-*  
*Baum*, <sup>109</sup>) wie man sagt: 'Der den Tod fern-

haltende *Hōm*' (*Hōm-i dūr-aūs*).

(*Anklesaria-Bode*, S. 147).

Spuren von Weltbaum haben wir schon in *Mahābhārata* I : 1381. In *Bdh* 27 : 4 ist von zwei Bäumen die Rede (*Gokard* und 'der Baum

<sup>103</sup>) „en emanasjon av Odin... en mann 'i haneham', som forrettet haneoffer eller bare var Odinprestens assistent" (HOLTSMARK, in: *ANF* 64, S. 53).

<sup>104</sup>) Folke STRÖM, in: *Arv* 12, S. 41-68.

<sup>105</sup>) ELGQVIST, in: *ANF* 72, S. 168-171. JÓHANNESSON kennt nur die Literatur bis auf Krogmann 1932! (*Isl. Etym. Wörterbuch*, 1956, s.v. *keuq-*, S. 205 f.).

<sup>106</sup>) Vgl. *Viṣṇu*, der in Vogelgestalt, „tänkes stå i något speciellt förhållande till aflingen och afkomman" (K. F. JOHANSSON, *Solfågeln i Indien*, S. 10).

<sup>107</sup>) Der Wurzel *kan-* bedeutet 'singen' (auch von anderen Geräuschen). Siehe J. POKORNY, *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, I, S. 525 f. Ohne Beweis lehnt DUMÉZIL diese Etymologie ab (*Loki*, S. XX und 228, Note 101a).

<sup>108</sup>) Wie *Hænir* *Oðin* hilft, so erscheint in *Vidēvdāt* 18 : 14 der Hahn als Sakristan und Mithelfer *Sraoṣas*. — Dagegen ist F. STRÖMS Gleichsetzung Hönir — Schwalbe *Oðins* unmöglich (DUMÉZIL, a.a.O. S. XX). Vgl. DUMÉZIL, S. 224-33: Hönir ist „Patron der tiefen, unsichtbaren Seite der Intelligenz, der 'Intelligenz in sich'" (S 233) und „projection mythique d'une sorte de prêtre" (L'idéologie tripartite, S. 72) — Über verschiedene Vögel (Schwan, Gans u.a.), die mit indogermanischen Göttern verknüpft sind, siehe vor kurzem K. SCHIER, in: *Festschr. Leyen*, S. 329. Vgl. das Singen der drei Schwäne bei Saxo (HELLQVIST, a.a.O. S. 146, Note 2).

<sup>109</sup>) *Gaokerāna* (*Vidēvdāt* 20 : 17).

aus vielen Samen'), die in 18 : 1 eins zu sein scheinen. So gibt es auch in *Grímnismál* 25 f., bzw. 32-35, zwei Bäume, *Yggdrasill* und *Læraðr*, mit verschiedenen Tieren versehen, die den vedischen Tieren an Bäumen, 'den einbeinigen Bock' (*aja ekapād*) und 'den Drachen in der Tiefe', (*ahi budhnya*), *Rgv.* 10 : 11, entsprechen.<sup>110</sup>) Neulich hat Alfred JAKOBSEN hypothetisch *Yggdrasill* und *Læraðr* als zwei Namen desselben Baumes aufgefasst — wie in der *Vsp.*<sup>111</sup>)

Die Verknüpfung von Weltbaum, Unsterblichkeitsquelle (siehe unten) und geflügelten Göttern (Odin als Adler) ist urindogermanisch, weil wir sie in Indien, Iran und Norden finden.<sup>112</sup>) Der schwedische Indologe K. F. JOHANSSON war schon 1910 der Ansicht, dass die nordische Mythenfassung die ursprünglichste sei.<sup>113</sup>)

#### 7. Die Weltquelle macht den Baum immergrün

19 : 7 f.

*stendr æ yfir, grænn,  
Urðar brunni* (vgl. *iðjagrænn*,  
Str. 58)

[Die Esche] steht  
immergrün am Urdbrunnen.

18 : 11 (16 : 12)

Unter diesem Baume ist... der Schutz der  
Wasser geschaffen worden... die Urquellen  
aller Wasser.

(Übers. *Justi* XLIII : 17)

Den Baum nennt man immergrün  
(*Anklesaria-Bode*, S. 149).

Diese Quelle (*Urðarbrunnr*) dürfte aus sprachlichen Gründen dieselbe sein wie der in Strophe 28 genannten Brunnen des *Mímir* (*Mimisbrunnr*).<sup>114</sup>) Die Formen *Mímir* und *Mimr* sind Beispiele eines gewöhnlichen Wechsels zwischen starken und schwachen Namensformen: *Fol* — *Fylli*, *Hallr* — *Halli*, *Ing* — *Yngvi* u.s.w.<sup>115</sup>) So mag

110) Darüber DUMÉZIL, „Notes sur le bestiaire cosmique d l'Edda et du Rg Veda," in: *Mélanges Mossé*, S. 104-06. Vgl. OLDENBERG, *a.a.O.* S. 70.

111) A. JAKOBSEN, Strophe 33 i *Grímnismál*, in: *ANF* 80, 1965, S. 93. Vgl. *Mímameiðr* (*Fjölsvinnsmál* 20) und dazu Å. V. STRÖM, *Scandinavian belief*, S. 77. Alle drei sind eins gemäss DE BOOR, in: *Dt Isl* 1930, S. 71.

112) K. F. JOHANSSON, *a.a.O.* S. 29-31.

113) „Det kan inte vara tvifvel om att den germanska och indiska mytcomplexen åtminstone uppvuxit på grundvalen af lika förutsättningar i fråga om tro och föreställningar, ja till och med äga historiskt sammanhang. Den germanska myten är så till vida ursprungligare, som den lemnat kvar världsträdet i sin ursprungliga omgifning" (JOHANSSON, *a.a.O.* S. 30).

114) See Åke V. STRÖM, *Scandinavian belief in fate*, S. 76 f., (nach W. Gehl). Vgl. über *Mimr* und *Mímameiðr* (*Fjölsv.* 20 und 24) DE BOOR, *a.a.O.* S. 70, und letztlich J. SIMPSON, *Mimir*, in: *Saga-Book* 16 : 1, S. 41-53.

115) GENZMER, in: *ANF* 63, 1948-49, S. 72 mit Note 3.

*Yggdrasill* (*Vsp* 2, 19, 47, *Grimn.* 31-35, 44) derselbe sein wie *Míma-meíðr* (*Fjólsv.* 20, 22) <sup>116</sup>) — Quelle, Auge und Weisheit sind oft verknüpft. <sup>117</sup>)

# 8. Der 'Unsterbliche' wird erschossen

32 : 1-4

*Varð af þeim meíði*

*er mér syndiz*

*harmflaug hættlig:*

*Höðr nam skjóta.*

[dem Balder] ward der Zweig,

der zart erschien,

zum herben Harmpfeil:

Hödr schoss ihn.

29 : 7 (8)

Von *Sām* ist gesagt: er war unsterblich... so hat ihn ein Türke, welchen man *Nihaz* (*Nān*) nennt, als er eingeschlafen war, mit einem Pfeil getroffen.

(Übers. *Justi*, LXIX : 11).

Die viel umschriebene Baldr-Höðr-Episode ist neulich von zwei Forschern behandelt worden. Hans FROMM erörtert die Parallele in Lemminkäinen's Tod durch eine Mistel, <sup>118</sup>) aber es gibt auch indogermanische Entsprechungen: die anglosächsischen Helden *Herebeald-Hæðcyn* (*Beow.* 2434, auch mit Pfeil) <sup>119</sup>), der griechische *Achilles*, der indische *Kṛṣṇa* <sup>120</sup>) und jetzt auch die iranischen *Sām-Nihaz*. Aage KABELL hat in einer kleinen Abhandlung <sup>121</sup>) zu eigen versucht, *mistilteinn* in *Vsp* 31 meine nicht die Pflanze (*viscum album*) sondern sei ein Bild (*kenning*) für *Höðr* <sup>122</sup>)! In der Urgeschichte handle es sich „um lehrreiche Kasus, und zwar zur Theorie der Rache.“ <sup>123</sup>)

Demgegenüber dürfte die von KABELL nicht behandelte Meinung DUMÉZILS zur Recht bestehen. Dieser findet im Tode Baldrs durch den

<sup>116</sup>) Vgl. die Baum-Typologie bei SCHIER, *a.a.O.* S. 333 Note 113. Eine ukrainische Parallele zu *Vsp* 19 wird S. 332 herangezogen.

<sup>117</sup>) VAN HAMEL, in: *ANF* 41, S. 300-305. — "The association of heads and water may be a survival of ancient beliefs of the Indo-Europeans" (SIMPSON, *a.a.O.* S. 46). Vgl. den Orpheus-Kopf auf Lesbos (*Ovid. Metam.* XI: 55-57).

<sup>118</sup>) H. FROMM, Lemminkäinen und Baldr, in: *Festschr. Leyen*, S. 287-302.

<sup>119</sup>) Darüber schon RYDBERG, *Teutonic mythology*, S. 602, Undersökningar, I, S. 665, II., S. 247.

<sup>120</sup>) *Statius, Achilleis* 1: 134, 2: 269, *Mahābhārata* 16: 4.

<sup>121</sup>) AA. KABELL, Balder und die Mistel (= *FFC.* 82: 1, No. 196).

<sup>122</sup>) KABELL, *a.a.O.* S. 9. *Völlu hæri*, 'höher als das Feld', wird zu *völu hæri*, 'höher als ich (die Völva)' geändert. — Für meine Auffassung vom *mistilteinn* siehe oben S. 179.

<sup>123</sup>) KABELL, *a.a.O.* S. 18. Die Behandlung des Motivs in der *SnE* „stellt nun das novellistische Verfahren Snorris ausserhalb jeder Diskussion" (S. 13). Also hier kein Diskutieren!

blinden Höðr ein Beispiel derselben Art wie „le jeu truqué, par lequel le Mal triomphe“ in *Mahābh.* [2 : 46-73], wo wir den blinden *Dhṛta-raṣṭra*, den bleichen *Pandū* [*Mahābh.* 1 : 106] u.a. wiederfinden.<sup>124)</sup> Auch bei Saxo (3 : 2 f.) nimmt DUMÉZIL denselben Mythos wahr,<sup>125)</sup> obwohl mit gewissen Änderungen.<sup>126)</sup>

9. Der Frevler wird gefesselt<sup>127)</sup>

<p>35 : 1-4 <i>Hapt sá hon liggja</i>  <i>und hvera lundi,</i>  <i>lægiarnlíki</i>  <i>Loka áþekkian.</i>          Gefesselt sah sie liegen,          im Quellenwald          den Leib Lokis          den Abscheulichen.</p>	<p>29 : 9 <i>Frētōn</i>, als er den <i>Azi Dahāk</i> über-          wunden hatte, durfte ihn nicht töten,          sondern er band ihn dann an den Berg  <i>Damāvand.</i>          (Übers. <i>Justi</i>, LXX : 2).</p>
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Über Loki siehe, ausser DUMÉZILs Buch, französisch 1948 und in erweiterter Form deutsch 1959, das Loki von einer Seite her als Typus der impulsiven Intelligenz darstellt,<sup>128)</sup> Alois CLOSS, 1960, der bei Loki „das Unheimliche und Furchtbare seines Wesens, doch nicht radikal Böses“ betont,<sup>129)</sup> und endlich Anne HOLTSMARK, die auf die wie es scheint unlöslichen Rätsel in Lokis Wesen deutet.<sup>130)</sup> In *Vsp* 35 ist Loki am meisten dem Prometheus ähnlich, dem er auch überhaupt gleich sieht.<sup>131)</sup> Wie Loki bald Asenfreund, bald feindlich ist, so tritt der iranische *Frahrasyan* bald als frecher Dieb, bald als *aša*-freundlich auf.<sup>132)</sup>

124) DUMÉZIL, *Les dieux des Germains*, S. 89, *L'idéologie tripartite*, S. 72.

125) DUMÉZIL, Hötherus et Balderus, in: *PBB*, 83, 1961-62, S. 259-70.

126) „Saxo a voulu faire de Höðr-Hotherus le héros à la fois principal et sympathique et a transféré sur lui la substance de Baldr (a.a.O. S. 269).“

127) Diese Motiv hat nichts mit dem Vorhergehenden zu tun (DE VRIES, in: *GRM* 24, S. 5 f.).

128) DUMÉZIL, *Loki*, S. 218-230.

129) A. CLOSS, „Loki und die germanische Frömmigkeit“, in: *Kairos* 2, 1960, S. 89. — Er zieht eine Parallele zwischen dem diebischen Loki und dem Diebstahl *Frahrasyan's* in *yašt* 19 : 56 (a.a.O. S. 93).

130) A. HOLTSMARK, „Loki — en omstridt skikkelse i nordisk mytologi“, in: *MoM* 1962, S. 81-89.

131) Vgl. die Strafe des Prometheus, *Hesiod, Theogonia* 521-525, und dazu ROSE, a.a.O. S. 55 f. — Für Loki und Prometheus siehe RYDBERG, a.a.O. II, S. 199 f.

132) *Yašt* 19 : 55-64 verglichen mit 19 : 93 und dazu NYBERG, a.a.O. S. 257 f.

## 10. Die Bösen waten durch tödliche Ströme

- 39 : 1-4 *Sá hon þar vaða þunga strauma*<sup>133)</sup>  
*menn meinsvara*  
*ok mörðvarga.*  
 durch schwere [Metall-]  
 Ströme  
 meineidige Männer  
 und Mordtäter.
- 30 : 20 (34 : 18) Dann werden sie alle Menschen durch das geschmolzene Metall hindurchschreiten lassen und sie rein machen (vgl. *yašt* 17 : 20).<sup>134)</sup>  
 (Übers. *Widengren*, S. 219).

## 11. Der Hund (Hunde) and der Höllenhöhle

- 44 : 1 f (49, 59)  
*Geyr nú Garmr mjök*  
*fyr Gnipahelli.*  
 Gellend heult Garm  
 vor der Gnipahöhle.
- (30 : 3) Himmlische Hunde befinden sich am Kopfe der Brücke, und die Hölle ist unterhalb jener Brücke.<sup>135)</sup>  
 (Übers. *Widengren*, S. 177).

## 12. Die Gemeinschaftsformen lösen sich auf 136)

- 45 : 1-6  
*Brædr munu berjaz*  
*ok at bönum verðaz,*  
*munu systrungar*  
*sifjum spilla,*  
*hart er í heimi,*  
*hórdómr mikill.*  
 Brüder kämpfen  
 und bringen sich Tod,  
 Schwesterkinder  
 brechen die Sippe;  
 arg ist es in der Welt  
 viel Ehebruch.
- 30 : 12 (34 : 14) Man [trennt] einen Sohn von der Seite seines Vaters, einen Bruder von seinem Bruder, einen Freund von seinem Freunde.  
 (Übers. *Widengren*, S. 218 f.).

133) Snorre denkt wegen Str. 38 an Ströme aus Schlangengift (*SnE*, *Gylf.* 51), *Reginsmál* Str. 4 spricht von Watung durch *Vaðgelmir*. — Ohne die iranische Parallele zu kennen könnte man die obige zutreffende Übersetzung von *þunga strauma* nicht geben.

134) Über dasselbe Motiv in Dura-Europos und bei Lactantius se EDMAN, *Ignis divinus*, S. 221.

135) Vgl. die zwei Hunde in *Vidēvdāt* 19 : 18-32, die Höllenhunde Yamas, z.B. *Rgv.* X : 14 : 11 und *Verg. Aen.* VI : 257.

136) Über das Motiv „die Auflösung des Verwandtschaftskollektivums“ siehe Ake V. STRÖM, *Vetekornet*, S. 30, und *Religion och gemenskap*, S. 95. Dort nicht erwähnte Beispiele sind *Enuma eliš* 4 : 79 f., *Quran*, sura 80 : 33-37, *Artāi virāz nāmak* 68 und *Bahman yašt* 2 : 30 : „die Liebe des Vaters zum Sohne, des Bruders zum Bruder usw. erlöschte, und die Mutter wurde von der Tochter geschieden“.

139) Bezieht sich, trotz F. JÓNSSON (*a.a.O.*, S. 15), auf den gefesselten Loki (NORDAL, *a.a.O.* S. 89).





ro, <sup>145</sup>) sowie bei den keltischen Galliern, <sup>146</sup>) d.h. überall im indogermanischen Gebiet.

Die Vernichtung der Welt (Str. 57) ist in einer Kampfschilderung bei *Saxo* nachgebildet: „Der Himmel scheint dir plötzlich auf die Erde herunterfallen, Wälder und Felder sinken, alles gemischt werden und das alte Chaos zurückgekehrt haben, Göttliches und Menschliches in einem Wirbelsturm zusammengegossen werden, und das All auf einmal gegen seinen Untergang geführt werden“. <sup>147</sup>)

### 18. Ein goldenes Zeitalter bricht ein

61 : 1-4, 62 : 1-3  
*þar muno eptir*  
*undrsamligar*  
*gullnar töflor*  
*í grasi finnask...*

*Muno ósánnir*  
*akrar vaxa,*  
*böls mun alls batna.* <sup>48</sup>)

Demnach werden  
 die wundersamen  
 goldenen Tafeln  
 im Gras sich finden...  
 Unbesät werden  
 Äcker tragen;  
 alles Böse  
 wird besser.

30 : 24 f. (34 : 22)

Öhrmazd vollbringt dann sein Werk, und die Geschöpfe werden derart, dass man nichts an ihnen machen muss... Alle Menschen werden unsterblich für immer.

30 : 33 (34 : 33)

Die Erde wird eine eisfrei Ebene ohne Abhang (vgl. *Bahman yašt* 3 : 62).

(Übers. *Widengren*, S. 219 f).

B. NERMAN, der behauptet, die *Vsp* sei im 7. Jahrhundert verfasst worden (oben S. 168), sieht in den *gullnar töflor* „die berühmten Goldbrakteaten“, Schmucksachen, deren sich der Verfasser aus dem goldreichen 6. Jahrhundert erinnern könnte. <sup>149</sup>) Aber Str. 8 legt es doch am nächsten, in den Goldtafeln die Steine des Brettspiels zu sehen.

<sup>145</sup>) *Fragm.* 593 = *Cic. De nat. deor.* 2 : 118 (von *Arnim*, Bd 2, S. 183, Z. 19 f.).

<sup>146</sup>) *Strabon*, *Geographica* IV : 4 : 4 : ἐπικρατήσκειν δέ ποτε καὶ πῦρ καὶ ὕδωρ.

<sup>147</sup>) *Crederes repente terris ingruere coelum, silvas camposque subsidere, misceri omnia, antiquum rediisse chaos, divina pariter et humana tumultuosa tempestate confundi, cunctaque simul in perniciem trahi* (*Saxo*, *Gesta Dan.* VIII : 4 : 4, S. 218).

<sup>148</sup>) Vgl. *Óðinn* als *bölverkr* 'Täter des Bösen' (*Grím.* 47), der *einn veldr öllu bölví*, 'einsam alles Böse bewirkt' (*Helg. Hund.* II : 34).

<sup>149</sup>) B. NERMAN, in: *ANF* 78, S. 123-125.

## 19. Brüder und Vettern finden sich

- 62 : 5 f., 63 : 3-5      30 : 21 (34 : 20)  
*búa þeir Höðr ok Baldr*      Mit grösster Liebe kommen dann alle zu-  
*Hropts sigtóptir* ... <sup>150)</sup>      sammen: Vater und Sohn, Bruder und  
*ok burir byggja*      Freund,  
*bræðra Tveggja*      Übers. *Widengren*, S. 219). Vgl. 30 : 9.  
*Vindheim víðan.*  
Höðr und Baldr hausen  
in Hropts [Oðins] Sieghöfen ...  
und die Söhne der Brüder Tveggis [Oðins]  
bauen im weiten Windheim

## 20. Der Opferdienst wird erneut

- 63 : 1 f.      30 : 30 (34 : 29)  
*þá kná Hænir*      *Öhrmazd* kommt als Oberpriester (*zōta*)  
*hlautvð kjósa.*      und der Gerechte *Srōš* als sein Helfer  
Dann kann Hönir      (*rāspī*).  
Opferbüschel wählen.      (Übers. *Widengren*, S. 220).

*Hænir* ist, wie wir oben (S. 186) gesehen haben, der Gott des neuen Lebens, und *hlautviðr* = *hlautteinn* ist der kultische Zweig, mit dem man nicht nur das Opfer verrichtet, sondern auch eine neue (hier goldene) Zeit hereinführt. <sup>151)</sup>

## 21. Der Gewaltige kommt

- 65 : 1-4      30 : 30 (34 : 29)  
*þá kemr inn ríki*      *Öhrmazd* wird in die Welt kommen, er  
*at regindómi,*      selbst als Oberpriester und der gerechte  
*öflugr, ofan,*      *Srōš* als sein Helfer.  
*sá er öllu ræðr*      (Übers. *Widengren*, S. 221).  
(Übers. siehe unten)

## Ergebnis

Diese 21 Momente treten in der *Vsp* und in dem *Bdh* in fast genau derselben Reihe auf und verteilen sich in vier deutlich sichtbaren Gruppen, gemäss den vier Stufen (oben S. 182 f.):

<sup>150)</sup> Über diesen Oðinsnamen, zuerst in *Kormáks Sigurðardrápa* 7 (*Kock*, S. 43) siehe DE BOOR, in: *Dt Isl.*, S. 85 f.

<sup>151)</sup> Siehe STRÖM, *The king god*, S. 705-707. Vielleicht ist dasselbe oder ein ähnliches Gerät gemeint, wenn *Kormákr* ein Zauberweib *runns reiði-Sif* (*Kock*, S. 45, Str. 22), 'die schwingende Siv des Strauches', nennt. Sie vollzieht ihren Windzauber durch Schwingen eines Besens. Nach FRITZNER, *Ordbog s.v.*, bedeutet *runnr* 'Busk, Klynge af flere Skud, som ere oprundne af samme Rod' (III. S. 139), also genau dasselbe wie der Barsom-Bündel in Iran (z.B. *yašt* 13:94).

	<i>Vsp</i>	<i>Bdh</i>		<i>Vsp</i>	<i>Bdh</i>
I	3	1 : 5		44	30 : 3
<i>mēnōk</i>	5	2 : 1		45a	30 : 12
	8	4 : 1-4		45b	30 : 18
				47 f.	29 : 8 <sup>153)</sup>
II	17	14 : 6 f.		53-56	30 : 29 <sup>154)</sup>
	18	15 : 5		57a	30 : 18
<i>gētik</i>	19a	18 : 1		57b	30 : 19
	19b	18 : 11			
			IV	61 f.	30 : 24
III	32	29 : 7		62 f.	30 : 21
	35	29 : 9	<i>frašo-</i>	63	30 : 30
<i>gumečišn</i>	39	30 : 20 <sup>152)</sup>	<i>kərati</i>	65	30 : 30

Eine derartige in die Einzelheiten sich streckende Übereinstimmung kan schwerlich zufällig sein, sondern muss von Verwandtschaft abhängen. NECKEL schrieb im Jahre 1930: „Nun wissen wir aber, dass die Isländer ihre alte Religion, einschliesslich des gefesselten Loki und des Surt im Surthellir, nicht selbst geschaffen sondern aus der festländischen Heimat mitgebracht haben, und wir können teils beweisen, teils mit Wahrscheinlichkeit annehmen, dass das meiste davon einst germanisch gewesen ist”. <sup>155)</sup> SCHIER mein jetzt, Reitzenstein, Peuckert, Olrik und Neckel „haben die kulturgeographischen und historischen Schwierigkeiten ebenfalls nicht zu beseitigen vermocht”, <sup>156)</sup> sondern die *Vsp* habe „sehr alte Traditionen verwendet”. <sup>157)</sup> WIKANDER stellt fest, dass die Übereinstimmungen in indogermanischen eschatologischen Mythen „cannot be explained through literary borrowings. They must go back to a common source”. <sup>158)</sup>

Was wir hier über die *Vsp* und der *Bdh* ausgeführt haben, dürfte deutlich zeigen, dass es bei den Parallelen *nicht um Einfluss sondern*

152) Dieses Motiv, die Wattung der Bösen, kommt im *Bdh* „zu spät” oder (sagen wir besser) in der *Vsp* „zu früh”, weil der eschatologische Schauspiel noch nicht begonnen hat.

153) Hier wird das Loswerden des Frevlers nur weisgesagt (also „früh”), nicht geschildert.

154) Es ist in dem *Bdh* auffallend, dass der Paarkampf so „spät”, mitten in der Paradiesbeschreibung, kommt. Der Grenz zwischen III und IV geht ja sonst in *Bdh* 30 : 21.

155) NECKEL, in: *Dt Isl.* 1930, S. 33.

156) SCHIER, in: *Festschr. Leyen*, S. 307.

157) *Ders.*, a.a.O. S. 334.

158) WIKANDER, in: X. *IKRG.* 1960, S. 139.

um Erbe handelt. Über die *Vsp* sind Neckels Worte so zu verändern: Wir können teils beweisen, teils mit Wahrscheinlichkeit annehmen, dass das meiste davon einst indogermanisch gewesen ist. Das verdanken wir den Methoden der neueren vergleichenden Religionswissenschaft, die zu diesen nachprüfbaren Ergebnissen geführt hat.<sup>159)</sup>

#### IV. INN RÍKI

Wir wollen jetzt versuchen auf Grund der gewonnenen Ergebnisse neues Licht über die Probleme des zweitletzten Verses der *Völuspá* zu werfen. Der Vers ist textkritisch nicht ganz gut überliefert. Er liegt nur im Hauksbók, nicht in Codex Regius vor, ist aber von NORDAL mit guten Gründen als echt erwiesen.<sup>160)</sup> Der Auftakt ist ein in den beiden *Völuspá*-Liedern gewöhnlicher:

*Vsp* 53: þá kœmr Hlinar harmr  
 „ 55: „ „ inn mikli mögr  
 „ 56: „ „ „ mæri „  
 „ 66: þar „ „ dimmi dreki  
*Hyndl.* 44: þá kemr annarr, enn mátkari.

Die Strophe 65, eigentlich nur eine Halbstrophe, wird gewöhnlich so übersetzt:

Von oben kommt  
 der allgewalt'ge  
 hehre Herrscher  
 zum höchsten Gericht.<sup>161)</sup>

Dieser Vers steht natürlich speziell im Verdacht des christlichen Einflusses.<sup>162)</sup> Er spricht davon, was nach Ragnarök, nach dem Tod und

159) Vgl. NECKEL: „Man darf sich also wundern darüber, dass uns Germanisten immer von neuem die vergleichende Religionswissenschaft als unentbehrliche Lichtquelle empfohlen wird. Kann sie uns denn mehr liefern als unnachprüfbare Hypothesen?“ (*a.a.O.* S. 31).

160) NORDAL, *a.a.O.* S. 106-109. Vgl. TURVILLE-PETRE: „There are good reasons to suppose that it was part of [the poem] in its original form“ (*Origins of Icelandic literature*, S. 64).

161) H. GERING, *Die Edda*, S. 15. GENZMER übergeht den Vers ganz und gar!

162) „Verset er åbenbart kristeligt... kan ikke have hørt til digtet... er afgjort uægte. Indholdet strider imod digtets hele tone og tendens“ (F. JÓNSSON, *De gamle Eddadigte*, S. 19 f.). Vgl. B. M. ÓLSEN, in: *Tímarit*, S. 85 f. — „Ett kristligt inskott?“ (B. COLLINDER, *Den poetiska Eddan*, s. 220).

der Wiedererweckung der Götter von einem ganz Anderen getan wird (vgl. *Hyndl.* 43 f.).<sup>163</sup>) Selbst NORDAL gibt zu, dass kein moderner Ausleger bezweifeln kann, dass hier christliche Vorstellungen dem Dichter vorgeschwebt haben.<sup>164</sup>) Die meisten sagen ohne weiteres, *inn ríki* sei Christus, der zum jüngsten Gericht wiederkommt.<sup>165</sup>) Hans NAUMANN u.a. wollen andererseits *inn ríki* mit Baldr wiedergeben,<sup>166</sup>) und BETZ versucht noch 1962 eine Syntese: „Die Vision der künftigen Balderwelt [ist] den Vorstellungen von der Wiederkehr Christi zum Jüngsten Gericht unter- und eingeordnet“.<sup>167</sup>)

Persönlich glaubt aber NORDAL, *inn ríki* sei „weder Christus noch Odin, sondern das höchste Gottesbild des Dichters selber“.<sup>168</sup>) Das befriedigt aber nicht. Es hat sich ja gezeigt, dass die *Vsp* nicht ein nur „persönliches“ Gedicht ist, sondern mit Traditionsstoff arbeitet.

NORDAL selbst hat uns jedoch auch ein kleines Stück Weg in eine neue Richtung gewiesen. Ein Idee OLRIKS aufnehmend,<sup>169</sup>) stellt er *regindómr* mit *konungdómr*, *jarldómr* u.a. zusammen und übersetzt: Gottesreich, Gottesherrschaft.<sup>170</sup>) *Inn ríki* kommt, um sein Reich zu übernehmen. Wer ist denn *inn ríki*?

DUCHESNE-GUILLEMIN sagt in seiner siebten These über die iranische Eschatologie: „Die Idee, das Ende der Welt sei eine Wiederherstellung ihres Anfangs ... gipfelt in der Vorstellung von einer Zurückkehr zu *Ahura Mazdāh*.“<sup>171</sup>) Dieser wird zuletzt alles in seinem *xšaθra* emp-

163) Darüber E. A. PHILIPPSON, *Die Genealogie der Götter*, S. 73 f.

164) NORDAL, *a.a.O.* S. 106.

165) „Nun hat wohl auch noch der Dichter Christus Pantokrator in den Mythos eingefügt“ (G. NEBEL, *Die Not der Götter*, S. 210).

166) „Nach innerer Logik kann es sich nur um Baldr handeln, dessen Name ja auch in geradezu vorbereitender Weise genannt war. 'Balder wird kommen', nämlich *at regindómi*“ (NAUMANN, *Germanischer Schicksalsglaube*, 1934, S. 30).

167) BETZ, *Die altgermanische Religion*, col. 1550.

168) „Hinn ríki er hvorki Kristur né Óðinn, heldur hæsta guðshugmynd skáldsins sjálfs“ (*a.a.O.* S. 142). So auch DE VRIES in: *GRM* 24, 1936, S. 12.

169) OLRIK, *a.a.O.* S. 125, Anm. I.

170) „Hinn alvaldi kemur til þess að taka við regindómi sínum, ʔ: því ríki sem guðsmáttur hans opnar honum“ (NORDAL, *a.a.O.* S. 106). NAUMANN drückt es so aus: *at regindómi* meint „zum Lenker-, Herrscher-, Machthabertum“ (*a.a.O.* S. 20).

171) „L'idée que la fin du monde est un retour aux origines... est poussée à l'extrême dans la notion d'un retour à Ohrmazd“ (DUCHESNE-GUILLEMIN, in: *X. I.KRG* 1960, S. 7).

fangen, und diesen Begriff finden wir schon in den *gāthā's* (*yasna* 43 : 16, 45 : 10, 51 : 1 u.a.). Aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach liegt also noch eine indogermanische Parallele in der *Vsp* vor: der höchste Gott kommt um alles in seinem Reiche zu empfangen.

Dieselbe Vorstellung liegt zwar in den Evangelien vor, z.B. Matth. 25 : 31 und besonders im Gebet des bußfertigen Räubers:

ὅταν ἔλθῃς ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ σου <sup>171a)</sup> wenn du in deiner Herrschaft kommst (Luk. 23 : 42).

Aber sie ist spätjüdisch: <sup>172)</sup> der Begriff 'Herrschaft Gottes' (מְלוּכָה יהוה oder מְלוּכוֹת יהוה), der früher die ganze Schöpfung als von Gott beherrschtes Gebiet bedeutet hat (Psalt. 22 : 29, 145 : 11, 13, und noch II Hen. 24 : 3), bekam eine eschatologische Wendung (Obadja, V. 21). <sup>173)</sup> In den aramäischen Stücken des Danielbuches haben wir dieselben Begriffe 'kommen' (אתא) und 'Herrschaft' (מְלוּכָה), wie in *Vsp* 65:

כְּבָר אָנֹכְךָ אֱתָהּ הָיָה מְלוּכָה יְהִיב ... מְלוּכָה wie ein Menschensohn kommend war... und ihm wurde... Herrschaft gegeben. (Dan. 7 : 13 f.). <sup>174)</sup>

Ein religionsgeschichtlicher Exeget sagt: „Daniel's Ideenwelt aber weist nach Persien. Ich möchte annehmen, dass 'das Reich' überhaupt erst durch östlichen Einfluss zu einem eigentlichen eschatologischen Terminus geworden ist". <sup>175)</sup> Die Linie vom indischen Begriff *kṣātra* (z.B. *Rgv.* 7 : 87 : 6) und dem iranischen *xšaθra* über den jüdischen מְלוּכָה zum neutestamentlichen Wort βασιλεία ist von OTTO scharfsinnig gezogen worden. <sup>176)</sup> Die Ähnlichkeiten zwischen der *Vsp* und dem Neuen Testament auf diesem Punkt finden durch diesem gemeinsamen Hintergrund ihre Erklärung.

Noch etwas dürfte über *inn riki* hinzugefügt werden. *Rimbert*, der

<sup>171a)</sup> So die Handschriften **℣**, C, Θ und die Koinegruppe. B L und *lat* haben εις τὴν βασιλείαν σου, 'in dein Reich'.

<sup>172)</sup> Siehe W. GRUNDMANN, *Das Evangelium des Lukas*, 1964, S. 434.

<sup>173)</sup> BOUSSET-GRESSMANN, *Die Religion des Judentums*, S. 213-215. Vgl. GÜNTERT, *Der arische Weltkönig*, S. 176, Anm. 3.

<sup>174)</sup> Siehe ÅKE V. STRÖM, *Vetekornet*, S. 136.

<sup>175)</sup> R. OTTO, *Reich Gottes und Menschensohn*, S. 22.

<sup>176)</sup> OTTO, *a.a.O.* S. 11-28.

sonst traurigerweise geringes Interesse an der nordischen Religion oder schwache Kenntnis davon hat, erzählt, dass die Schweden zur Zeit des zweiten Besuches Ansgars den verstorbenen sakralen König Erich als Gott verehrten. Er gibt eine prophetische Botschaft der schwedischen Götter wieder, so lautend: „Wir nehmen einmütig euren damaligen König Erich in unsre Versammlung auf“. 177) Nicht alle apotheosierte Heroen der Religionsgeschichte können einen so deutlichen Empfehlungsbrief vorzeigen! Das Ergebnis war folgendes: die Bürger „bauten einen Tempel zu Ehren des genannten längst verstorbenen Königs und fingen an, ihm Gaben und Opfer zu bringen wie einem Gott“. 178) Nach dem *Ynglingatál* des *Thjodolf von Hvín* und *Snorri*, der ihm folgt, waren Alrik und Erik zwei Brüderröyke, die einander mit Pferdegebissen töteten. 179) Auch *Saxo* kennt die zwei Könige, die aber hier beide gegen Gestblinde (*Oðin*) kämpfen, wobei Alrik fällt und Erich überlebt. *Saxo* fügt hinzu: „Kein schwedischer König vor ihm hieß Erich, aber von ihm ging der Name auf die späteren über“. 180)

Zusammengenommen lassen diese Stellen vermuten, dass Eiríkr ein alter nordischer Gott gewesen ist, dessen Name als *Einríkr* < \**Ain-rikR*, 'der einzig Mächtige', gedeutet worden ist. 181) Ist dieser Gott geradezu indogermanisch? Es ist mir aufgefallen, dass der dritte Tag der Woche auf Bayrisch und Österreichisch ertag, eritag, erchtag < Erichstag, anstatt Dienstag, alem. *Zístac* < \**Tiwaz-dag* heisst. 182) Ist *Einríkr* ein Beiname von *Tiwaz*, dem indogermanischen \**deivos*?

177) *Ericum quondam regem vestrum nos unanimes in collegium nostrum asciscimus ut sit unus de numero deorum* (Rimbertus, *Vita Ansgarii*, Kap. 26). Vgl. Adam von Bremen: *legitur Hericum regem fecisse* (*Gesta Hamm. eccl. pont.*, IV, 26).

178) *Et templum in honore supradicti regis dudum defuncti statuerunt, et ipsi tamquam deo vota et sacrificia offerre coeperunt* (Rimbertus, a.a.O. Kap. 26).

179) *Snorri Sturlason*, *Ynglingasaga*, Kap. 20. Vgl. Erik und Alrik, Vater und Sohn auf dem Sparlösa-Stein und dazu I. LINDQUIST, *Religiösa runtexter* II, S. 42 und 176.

180) *Nemo ante ipsum Sueticorum regum Erici nomine censebatur, ab ipso autem in ceteros vocabulum fluxit* (*Saxo, Gesta Danorum*, Buch V, Kap. 10: 2).

181) So A. JOHANNSSON, in: *ANF* 49, S. 234-37, DUMÉZIL, *Mythes et dieux des Germains*, S. 47 f. und DE VRIES, *Altgerm. Rel. gesch.* 2, S. 457. JOHANNSSON ist der Meinung dass die Namen Eeric, Erich usw (< \**Aiwa-riks*) von Einríki „völlig fern zu halten sind“ (S. 237, Note 1).

182) SCHMELLER, *Bayerisches Wörterbuch*, Bd. I, Sp. 127 f., GRIMM, *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, Bd. III, Sp. 857. Vgl. JÓHANNESSON, *Isl. Etym. Wörterbuch*, S. 718 und 1136.

Der Hochgott *Einrikr* kann sehr wohl in *Vsp* 65 gefunden werden dadurch, daß man entweder einen erklärlichen Schreibfehler in der einzigen Handschrift, dem Hauksbuch, (*innriki* für *einrikr*) oder zwei Namensformen (der Bestimmte *inn riki* anstatt des Unbestimmten *ein riki*) annimmt. Zu übersetzen ist also:

Dann kommt Erich  
in seiner Herrschaft,  
der Mächtige von oben,  
der über alles Gewalt hat.

In *Bundahišn* 30 : 30 (34 : 29) dient *Sraoša* dem *Ahura Mazdāh* als Sakristan. In *Vidēvdāt* 18 : 14 hat *Sraoša* selbst einen *rāpi*: „Wer ist Helfer des frommen tapferen *Sraoša*? Da sprach *Ahura Mazdāh*: ‘Der Vogel, der Hahn genannt wird’”.<sup>183</sup>) Der *hlautviðr*, ‘Opferbüschel’, entspricht meiner Meinung nach den iranischen *barzman* (*yašt* 5 : 127, 13 : 94, *Strabon* 733). Wir haben also folgende Parallele:

*Erich* kommt  
in seinem *regindom*,  
von *Hænir* geholfen,  
mit *hlautvið*.

*Ahura Mazdāh* kommt  
in seinem *xšaθra*,  
von *Sraoša* geholfen,  
mit *barzman*.

Die iranische Eschatologie endet mit ἀποκατάστασις πάντων in *Ahura Mazdāhs* Herrschaft, die *Vsp* mit demselben Wiederkehr in dem all-umfassenden Gewalt des Mächtigen (*sá er öllu ræðr*). Auch dieses Indogermanische in der *Völuspá* ist nicht Einfluss sondern Erbe.

## ABKÜRZUNGEN

- ANF Arkiv för Nordisk Filologi  
APhSc Acta Philologica Scandinavia  
CIV CLEASBY-VIGFUSSON, An Icelandic-English dictionary 2 ed. Oxford 1957  
ARW Archiv für Religionswissenschaft  
ASNU Acta Seminarii Neotestamentici Upsaliensis  
*Dt Isl* Deutsche Islandsforschung 1930, Bd. 1, Kultur, herausgegeben von W. H. Vogt (= Kiel. Veröffentl. der schleswig-holsteinischen Univ.-gesellschaft. 28 : 1), Breslau 1930.  
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*Festschr.* Märchen, Mythos, Dichtung. Festschrift zum 90. Geburtstag Friedrich  
Leyen

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<sup>183</sup>) Über die Rolle des Hahns in den indogermanischen Religionen siehe RYDBERG, *Undersökningar*, S. 338 f.



- von der Leyens, herausgeg. von *H. Kuhn* und *K. Schier*, München 1963
- FFC Folklore Fellows Communications, Helsinki
- GA Germanische Altertumskunde, herausgeg. von *Hermann Schneider*, München 1951
- GRM Germanisch-Romanische Monatschrift
- KLex* Kulturhistoriskt Lexikon för nordisk medeltid från vikingatid till reformationstid, red. John Granlund, Bd 1-12 (A-O), Malmö 1956-67
- Kock* Den norsk-isländska skaldediktningen (siehe Quellen)
- MoM Maal og Minne, Oslo
- MR Mythes et religions, Paris
- PBB Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur, unter Mitwirkung von *H. Paul* (und *Ed. Sievers*) herausgeg. von *Wilh. Braune*
- RHR Revue d'histoire des religions
- RM Die Religionen der Menschheit, herausgeg. von *C. M. Schröder*
- SAS REITZENSTEIN-SCHAEDEK, Studien zum antiken Synkretismus aus Iran und Griechenland (= Studien der Bibliothek Warburg 7), Leipzig-Berlin 1926
- SBE The Sacred Books of the East, transl . . . and ed. by *F. Max Müller*
- SI Studia Islandica, Íslenzk fræði, Reykjavík
- SRG Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum
- UUA Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift
- VH Verdensreligionernes Hovedværker, under red. af *Poul Tuxen* og *Aage Marcus*, København 1953
- VSL Skrifter utg. av Vetenskaps-Societeten i Lund
- X.IKRG X. Internationaler Kongress für Religionsgeschichte 11.-17. Sept. 1960 in Marburg/Lahn, Marburg 1961

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# THE LITERARY MOTIF OF THE EXPOSED CHILD

(cf. Ex. ii 1-10)

BY

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Ancient Near Eastern man made his gods in his own image, and breathed into them his own spirit. It should come as no surprise that when he told stories about them his vocabulary and imagery were drawn entirely from his own, human, experience. The same literary motifs which occur regularly in tales of human exploits, and are clearly derived from contemporary society, appear with equal regularity in the stories about the gods, the myths. There is no reason to give priority in this regard to the myth over the legend, and the statement "stories of the gods are in all nations the oldest narratives"<sup>1)</sup> is surely incapable of proof. Nor are there grounds for eliciting and underlying "mythological system" recognition of which provides the key to the forms of ancient Near Eastern literature.<sup>2)</sup> The myth-maker and the story-teller are simply drawing on a common pool of devices, a common store of literary motifs.<sup>3)</sup> It may well be that a given motif through some extraneous circumstance comes to have a close connexion with a particular myth, so that all stories of human beings which employ that motif seem consciously to regard the myth as a *locus classicus*. The story of a fine youth torn to pieces by a wild beast, his fate attested by

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1) H. GUNKEL, *The Legends of Genesis* (Schocken, New York; 1964), 14.

2) Cf. the "mythological descriptive method" of WINCKLER and JEREMIAS. The postulate of "depotentized" gods and myths behind literature ostensibly secular in tone unfolds such an embarrassing wealth of uncontrollable possibilities that this fact alone is sufficient to render it suspect. The only answer required to a reconstruction such as VÖLTER's (*Die Patriarchen Israels im Licht der Aegyptischen Mythologie* [Leipzig, 1921]), wherein the *Grundlage* of the Patriarchal Stories is found in Egyptian mythology and the Patriarchs identified with Egyptian gods, is that it is ingenious, but quite unnecessary and *a priori* improbable.

3) Cf. the remarks in E. MEYER, *Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme* (Halle, 1906), 149.

only his blood-stained garment, could probably find everyday parallels in many ancient societies of the Levant; but it has become the classic account of how the fertility god met his end.<sup>4)</sup> An ancient peasant, listening to such a story told of a human hero, would doubtless recall at once the myth of the god. But the reverse would also surely be true: regaled with a re-telling of the myth, the peasant would think of tales of mortals who had suffered a similar death, and perhaps recall members of his own community who had been devoured by carnivores. The sharp line which moderns tend to draw between human hero and god, legend and myth, did not exist for the ancient. Another example of a motif which has become inseparably connected with a deity is the drowning motif in Ancient Egypt.<sup>5)</sup> Drowning was one of the ways in which, according to Egyptian mythology, Osiris met his fate; and at a very early date this mode of death was so closely identified with Osiris that the motif, wherever it occurs in Egyptian literature, cannot rid itself of Osirian overtones. But one is not justified in using this coincidental connexion of drowning with Osiris as a literary "Open Sesame", however significant it may be for Egyptian theology. The undue stress, sometimes approaching an obsession, which priestly intellectuals with a bent towards mysticism might lay upon parallels which they found between cult and legend, myth and social custom, should not lead us to believe that ancient man found it impossible to create literature outside of the context of myth.<sup>6)</sup>

4) Cf. M. ASTOUR, *Hellenosemitica, an Ethnic and Cultural Study in West Semitic Impact on Mycenaean Greece* (Leiden, 1965), 259 and n. 3, where it is alleged that "most of the motifs in the Joseph Story are more or less euhemerized motifs of the Tammuz-Adonis myth." To the present writer this seems an overstatement. To judge at least from the two major motifs of the story, viz. Joseph and his brothers, and the Re-instated Wiseman, the Joseph Story belongs to a late genre of wonder-Märchen (e.g. Ahikar, II Khamois, Onkhsheshonqy, Daniel, etc.), which has but tenuous and remote links with fertility myths. It is undoubtedly significant that all the motifs mentioned by ASTOUR are quite incidental to the plot of the Joseph Story, and some (e.g. the coat motif of chapter 37, the prison of chapter 39, and the coffin of chapter 50) could be argued to be secondary accretions to the original narrative.

5) J. G. GRIFFITHS, *The Conflict of Horus and Seth* (Liverpool, 1960), 7 n. 3 and the references there given.

6) One thinks specifically of such esoteric and artificial literary creations as the Jumilhac Papyrus, Papyrus Salt 825, or even the Pyramid Texts, which are overloaded with symbolism. Contrast these with the popular Märchen, like Sinuhe, the Sailor or the Two Brothers, and one will find that the mythological allusions in the latter are sparse and incidental. Even in the Contendings of Horus and

A common literary motif used of gods and humans alike is the story of the hero cast away in infancy. The social phenomenon which gave rise to this motif is the exposure of infants.<sup>7)</sup> The reasons for this cruel act undoubtedly varied. It might have been perpetrated through economic necessity,<sup>8)</sup> or because of some religious taboo, or even to protect a child whose life was in danger. How better to allay the suspicion of him who desired the death of the child than to feign the abandonment of the wretched babe in the wilds? In the stories which employ this motif the reasons given fall into three categories: I. the child is exposed through shame at the circumstances of its birth; II. the king (or whoever is in power), either at the instigation of an oracle or simply because the child is a potential threat, seeks to kill the child who is fated to supplant him; III. a general massacre endangers the life of the child.<sup>9)</sup>

I. In the first type the shame occasioned by the birth reflects a strict morality, such as might be found in a closely-knit rural community or tribal group.

1. The Hurrian sun god sees on earth a beautiful heifer, and mates with her in the form of a bull. The heifer bears a child which is human in form, and, aghast and ashamed by the sight of her biped son, she determines to kill him. But the sun god intervenes and removes the child to a deserted spot where, at his command, two birds protect and nourish it. A fisherman whose wife is childless now lights upon the baby,

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Seth, the mythological background of which is undeniable, interest centres, not upon the mythological associations which would have been well-known to the ancient listener, but upon characterization and humour.

7) For Near Eastern light on this practice, see B. CHILDS, *JBL* 84 (1965), 110 ff.

8) Cf. El's reason for abandoning his children in the desert: T. H. GASTER, *Thespis* (Doubleday Anchor Books; New York, 1961), 432f.

9) The motif investigated here has been treated often. See in particular, ASTOUR, *op. cit.*, 307 f; SIR J. G. FRAZER, *Folklore in the Old Testament*, II, (London, 1918), 437 ff; N. W. HOLLEY *JHS* 69 (1949), 39 ff; A. JEREMIAS, *The Old Testament in the Light of the Ancient East*, II, (London-New York, 1911), 93 ff; O. RANK, *The Myth of the Birth of the Hero* (New York, 1952); A. J. TOYNBEE, *A Study of History* (Galaxy Books, New York; 1962), III, 259 ff, VI, 450 f. Examples from the New Comedy are discussed by GILBERT MURRAY in *CQ* 37 (1943), 46 ff. The present paper is not concerned with examples drawn from mediaeval literature, for which see especially S. THOMPSON, *The Folk-tale* (New York, 1951), 122 ff, 139. The motif is M 371 in THOMPSON'S *Motif-Index of Folk Literature*, V, (Bloomington, 1935).

and sensing that the community will deal well with him if he has a son, he takes the child home and passes it off as his own. The rest of the text is lost, but it is likely that the child grew up to be a hero or demigod well known in legend.<sup>10)</sup>

2. The Indian sun god falls in love with the beautiful princess Kunti, and she bears him a male child. Her parents refuse to believe her unlikely story, and express shock at the evidence of their daughter's promiscuity. The girl is obliged to put her baby in a basket and cast it into the river. Rescued by a childless couple, the baby is brought up in a rural setting and becomes a mighty hunter.<sup>11)</sup>

3. The goddess Derceto, whose cult site was close to Ashkelon, enjoys an impulsive love affair with a plebeian youth but regrets it almost at once. In shame she kills her lover and exposes the child she bears upon the hills of Palestine. But the baby, nourished in the meantime by doves, is at last found by a shepherd and brought up as his own. It is probable that this tale originally recounted the birth of one of the fertility deities. In the historified form in which Diodorus relates it, however, the child is Semiramis, the later queen of Assyria.<sup>12)</sup>

4. The son of the Mother-goddess is mutilated by the gods. From his severed members an almond tree comes up. Nana, a woodland nymph and daughter of the river Sangarius, eats some of the fruit of the tree and finds herself pregnant.<sup>13)</sup> When the child is born his mother exposes him on the bank of the river where he is found by the Mother-goddess Cybele. The child grows up to be the handsome youth Attis, and becomes Cybele's favorite.<sup>14)</sup>

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10) J. FRIEDRICH, *ZA* NF 15 (1950), 225-34; for parallels to the motif of a god mating with a cow in Sumerian and Canaanite mythology, see ASTOUR, *Hellenosemitica*, 85 ff.

11) FRAZER, *op. cit.*, 451 ff; RANK, *op. cit.*, 16.

12) DIODORUS *Bibl.* ii, 9; cf. M. BRAUN, *History and Romance in Graeco-Oriental Literature* (Oxford, 1938), 7.

13) Cf. the passage in the Two Brothers in which Bata's wife inadvertently swallows a chip of wood and becomes pregnant: *D'orbiney* 18:4 ff; for the motif of conception through eating a vegetable substance, see S. THOMPSON, *op. cit.*, V, s. v. T 511.0-4.

14) A. F. PAULLY, G. WISSOWA, *Real Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, I, (Stuttgart, 1894), 767 f; II, (Stuttgart, 1896), 2247 ff; O. SEYFFERT *Dictionary of Classical Antiquity*, (Meridian Books; New York, 1957), 85.

5. The first son born to king Sam of Sistan has white hair, and the mother through shame conceals the birth. When Sam discovers the fact he has the child exposed on a mountain. But a great bird rears him there, and when Sam hears of it and goes to see, the bird flies down with the son. Sam relents and nominates the child his successor. <sup>15)</sup>

6. Suidas records that Ptolemy Soter was exposed at birth on a bronze shield out in the wilderness. An eagle found the child and with its outstretched wings protected it from the elements, and nourished it on the blood of slaughtered quails. <sup>16)</sup>

7. Antiope, daughter of Nycteus, yields to the advances of Zeus who cohabits with her in the form of a satyr. When she flees from her outraged father to the protection of the king of Sicyon, the latter is murdered by her uncle. She is then brought back in chains to her father, but on the way gives birth to Amphion and Zethus whom her uncle exposes on a mountain. Brought up by a shepherd, the twins grow to manhood and later are reunited with their mother. <sup>17)</sup>

8. Melanippe is raped by Poseidon and in due time gives birth to the twins Aeolus and Boeotus. These are exposed in the wilds and their mother is blinded and put in prison. Meanwhile a cow has found the babies and feeds them. At length shepherds find the twins and bring them up. <sup>18)</sup>

9. In the Epidauran version of the birth of Asclepius Coronis bears him while accompanying her father on a military campaign. The birth is in secret, and afterwards the child is exposed upon a hill near Epidaurus where various animals suckle it. <sup>19)</sup>

10. Hippothoon is born to Poseidon and Alope. The mother is put to death by her angry father, and the baby exposed in the wilds. But a mare finds him and suckles him until some shepherds chance that way. They take the child home with them and bring him up. <sup>20)</sup>

11. Ion, the eponymus ancestor of the Ionians, is born to Kreusa and Apollo in a cave on the Athenian acropolis. The mother exposes the

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15) RANK, *op. cit.*, 21.

16) SUIDAS, s. v. "Lagos."

17) M. CARY and others, *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (Oxford, 1949), 45.

18) MURRAY, *op. cit.*, 47.

19) PAUSANIAS ii, 26; SEYFFERT, *op. cit.*, 75.

20) *Ibid.*, 298.

child in a basket, but Apollo has the basket whisked off to Delphi where Ion is brought up by the priestess.<sup>21)</sup>

12. Sargon is born in secret into a family which has apparently been at home in upland country. His birthplace, however, is a city on the Euphrates. There his mother puts him in a reed ark and casts it upon the river. Found by a drawer of water, Sargon is brought up as his son. Although no reason is given for the secrecy of the birth, it is clear that it was interdicted by someone. Sargon was probably not the object of a jealous king's search, but simply the bastard offspring of a woman whose station in life condemned her to childlessness.<sup>22)</sup>

13. Queen Humai, nominated successor to her husband, exposes her baby in a box and sets it afloat upon the Euphrates. It lodges against a stone and is found by a tanner who takes the boy home and brings him up. When the boy reaches manhood he enters the queen's army and fights so bravely that Humai recognizes him. The two are reunited, and the son is duly nominated heir apparent.<sup>23)</sup>

14. A ghostly male figure suddenly appears upon the hearth of Tarachetius, king of Alba, and remains there many days. An oracle informs the king that if he gives a virgin to the spectre her son will become a mighty man of great renown. So Tarachetius orders his own daughter to go to the apparition. But the daughter refuses and sends her handmaid instead. When the servant bears children the king in a rage imprisons both women and sends a servant to dispose of the twins. The servant lays them beside the Tiber, but a wolf appears and suckles them, while birds feed them with bits of food. At last they are found and raised by a herdsman.<sup>24)</sup>

One should note especially the fertility connexions of this form of the motif. In the Levant, Asia Minor and Greece it is employed to embellish the account of the birth of the hero god, the dying and rising god of vegetation.<sup>25)</sup>

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21) RANK, *op. cit.*, 17.

22) H. G. Güterbock, *ZA* NF 42 (1934), 62 ff; P. JENSEN, *RIA* I, 322; translated in PRITCHARD, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts* 2 (Princeton, 1955), 119. For the prohibition of child bearing among Babylonian priestesses, see ASTOUR, *JBL* 85 (1966), 188 ff.

23) RANK, *op. cit.*, 19 f.

24) PLUTARCH *Romulus*, 3.

25) Cf. G. MURRAY, *CQ* 37 (1943), 47 ff; *idem*, *JHS* 71 (1951), 120 ff.

II. Those tales in which the motivating factor is a prophecy that an unborn child will take over the kingdom reflect a more sophisticated, dynastic milieu, in which hereditary kingship and problems of succession are of great importance.

15. A prophecy warns Senechorus, king of Babylon, that a grandson yet unborn will one day wrest the kingdom from him. To prevent its fulfilment he confines his unwed daughter to the acropolis and forbids her to consort with men. But by an unseen husband she bears a boy whom the soldiers at once throw over the parapet in the hope of even yet frustrating the prophecy. An eagle seizes the boy as he falls and deposits him gently in a garden. When the keeper of the garden chancs upon the baby he takes him home and brings him up as his own son, naming him Gilgamesh. Upon reaching manhood Gilgamesh fulfils the prophecy and becomes king of Babylon.<sup>26)</sup>

16. Astyages, king of the Medes, is warned in a dream that his grandson will take over all Asia and presumably oust him from the throne. When his daughter gives birth to Cyrus, Astyages orders the child to be killed. But the royal steward who is assigned the task cannot bring himself to do it, and hands the baby over to a herdsman for exposure in the forest. The herdsman likewise is reluctant to carry out the order, and substitutes his own still-born child, bringing up Cyrus as his own. Eventually, of course, the prophecy is fulfilled.<sup>27)</sup>

17. Warned in a dream that his future grandson will one day drive him from the throne, Astyages orders the child exposed. The herdsman responsible for carrying out the deed abandons Cyrus in the forest, and goes home where his wife has just given birth to a dead baby. On learning of the child's exposure, the wife pleads that her still-born son be substituted for the living child. When the herdsman returns to the forest, he finds a bitch suckling the baby.<sup>28)</sup>

18. King Afrasiab of Turan receives the son of his enemy into his court, and marries him to his daughter. A prophecy predicts that his future grandson will do him harm, so he kills his son-in-law. But his daughter is already pregnant, and when the son Khaikhosru is born he is given to a herdsman for a rustic upbringing. Convinced finally that

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26) AELIAN, *Hist. animal.* xii, 21.

27) HERODOTUS i, 108 ff; RANK, *op. cit.*, 24 ff.

28) *Ibid.*, 32 f.

his grandson is a harmless simpleton, Afrasiab crowns him his successor. <sup>29)</sup>

19. Zohak, king of Iran, is warned in a dream that a certain child Feridun will one day dethrone him. So he goes in search of him. But his mother hides the child in a forest where it is suckled by a cow. Later, when the pursuing Zohak gets too close to the forest hideout, she carries him to a hermit on a mountain. At the age of sixteen Feridun descends from the mountain and fulfils the prophecy. <sup>30)</sup>

20. An oracle states that Aegysthus, the son of Thyestes and his daughter Pelopia, will avenge his father on Atreus. At his birth his mother exposes him, but he is discovered and reared by shepherds. Later Atreus unwittingly adopts Aegysthus as his own son. <sup>31)</sup>

21. Acrisius learns from an oracle that his daughter will bear a son who will one day put him to death; so he shuts her up in a subterranean cell of bronze. But Zeus cohabits with her there, and she bears him a son, Perseus. Acrisius is skeptical of his daughter's explanation, and shuts both her and the baby in a chest which he throws into the sea. Washed up at Seriphus, Perseus is taken out alive, and brought up by a shepherd. <sup>32)</sup>

22. Aleos, king of Tegea, is warned by an oracle that his sons will die through a descendant of his daughter. So he makes her a priestess, thus condemning her to chastity. But Zeus ravishes her and she gives birth to Telephus.

Version 1: Aleos has them thrown into the sea in a box, which is carried to the end of the Mysian river and found by Teuthras, who marries the mother and adopts the baby.

Version 2: Auge, the daughter, exposes the child and escapes to Mysia. The child is nursed by a doe, found by shepherds, and at length taken to king Korythus who adopts him. <sup>33)</sup>

23. Because an oracle warned that one day baby Oedipus would murder his father, he is ordered to be exposed in the wilds. The herdsman

<sup>29)</sup> *Ibid.*, 36 f.

<sup>30)</sup> *Ibid.*, 37 f.

<sup>31)</sup> PAULY-WISSOWA, *op. cit.*, I, 973.

<sup>32)</sup> APOLLODORUS, *Lib. ii.* 4, 1; HOLLEY, *op. cit.*, 39 f. A chest figures also in one of the versions of the birth of Adonis: ASTOUR, *Hellenosemitica*, 308.

<sup>33)</sup> RANK, *op. cit.*, 21 f; FRAZER, *op. cit.*, 445 f; HOLLEY, *loc. cit.*; for the suggested derivation of "Telephus" from the Hittite "Telepinus," see G. CONTENAU, *La civilisation des Hittites et des Hurrites des Mitanni* (Paris, 1948), 121 f.



responsible for carrying out the command passes the child on to a shepherd. At last the queen of Corinth takes charge of him and brings him up. <sup>34)</sup>

24. A portent which occurred shortly before the birth of Paris suggested that the baby would one day bring misfortune upon Troy. So Priam has the child exposed on Mt. Ida. For five days the baby is suckled by a she-bear, and when the king's slave comes to confirm the child's death, he is surprised to find him still alive. Not wishing to kill him with his own hand, he takes him home and brings him up as his own son. Another version of the tale states that Paris was found and reared by shepherds. <sup>35)</sup>

25. A late account of the birth of Hercules tells how Alcmene hid her new-born baby in a field for fear of Hera whose consort Zeus was the father. After Hera had made several abortive attempts to kill the child, Athene rescued him, and not knowing who the real mother was, took him back to Alcmene in the hope that she would consent to bring up this foundling. <sup>36)</sup>

26. Amulius expells his brother Numitor from the throne of Alba, puts to death all his nephews, and prevents his niece Sylvia from marrying by making her a vestal virgin. But when Sylvia is raped by Mars and gives birth to the twins Romulus and Remus, Amulius murders her too, and sends his men to drown the babies in the Tiber. The trough in which the children are placed is not submerged, but lodges at the base of a tree where it is discovered by a wolf which suckles the babies until they are discovered by the king's herdsman. This man takes them home and brings them up in his house. <sup>37)</sup>

27. Substantially the same tale must once have been told of Fabius, son of Hercules and a nymph, who was born and abandoned on the banks of the Tiber. <sup>38)</sup>

III. A general massacre endangers the life of the child. The massacre may have nothing to do with a prophecy regarding the future career of the child. In some cases there is a prophecy, but the king or

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34) FRAZER, *op. cit.*, 446 f.

35) RANK, *op. cit.*, 20 f.

36) *Ibid.*, 44 ff.

37) LIVY, *Hist.* i, 4.

38) PLUTARCH, *Fabius*, 1.

ruler does not know the identity of his future rival, and so resorts to a widespread pogrom. <sup>39)</sup>

28. A late, embellished, version of the Moses story ascribes Pharaoh's policy of killing the male infants to the warning a wiseman gave him that one of the Hebrew women was about to give birth to a deliverer. <sup>40)</sup>

29. A story about the birth of Augustus which circulated two centuries after the event recounts that just before his birth the Roman senate was warned by an omen that a king of Rome was about to be born. Thereupon they decreed that for one year the rearing of a male child would be illegal. The sequel, however, as Suetonius records it, does not involve the casting away of the child. <sup>41)</sup>

30. The birth-narrative of Jesus, recorded in Matthew, belongs here, although the abandonment of the child in a deserted spot is replaced by a flight *through* the desert to Egypt. <sup>42)</sup>

31. The birth-narrative of Pyrrhus as told by Plutarch may fall in this category, although here we may be dealing with historical fact. When Pyrrhus was a baby a rebellion broke out in Epirus, and most of his family was annihilated. The survivors fled the city with the baby, but found their path to freedom blocked by a swiftly-flowing river. At this juncture some friendly natives of the place came to their assistance and fashioned some make-shift rafts out of the trees which grew by the river bank. And so baby Pyrrhus escaped the executioner's sword by floating across the river on a raft. <sup>43)</sup>

32. The story of Moses birth seems to belong in this third category. At a time when the king of Egypt was having all male children born to the Israelites drowned in order to prevent the growth of that people, Moses' mother determined to save her child. So, like Sargon's mother, she constructed an ark for her baby and, like the servants of Amulius, placed it in the shallows by the shore of the river. Like the wild animals in other versions, Miriam stood guard nearby to see what would happen to the ark. And, like Oedipus, Moses was found and cared for

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39) TOYNBEE, *A Study of History* VI, 451 n. 3.

40) JOSEPHUS, *Ant. Jud.* ii, 9; GINZBERG, *The Legends of the Jews* II (Philadelphia, 1910), 254 ff.

41) SUTONIUS, *Augustus*, 94.

42) *Matt.* ii.

43) PLUTARCH, *Pyrrhus*, 2.

by a female member of the royal house, in this case Pharaoh's daughter. Whether the present tale is a reworking of an earlier—perhaps Egyptian—version, in which Pharaoh's daughter is the mother and Moses is predicted to be the next king,<sup>44</sup>) cannot be ascertained. But I can see no evidence of such a secondary reworking, and it is equally likely that the canonical version of the story represents the primary adaptation of the motif to the person of Moses.<sup>45</sup>)

In the above summary of examples of this motif Egyptian literature is not represented. Did Egypt not know the motif? Was its literature never affected by its introduction from a foreign literary tradition?

Similar stories are sometimes found in Egypt, but they are not true parallels. In the Westcar Papyrus<sup>46</sup>) King Khufu, apprised of the fact that the wife of a certain priest of Re will give birth to children who will supplant Khufu's dynasty, is noticeably upset by the prophecy. But unless we assume an unrecorded version of the tale in which the king seeks the life of these children, we cannot compare the story with the motif of the abandoned wonder-child. For in the Westcar Papyrus

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44) Cf. E. MEYER, *op. cit.*, 46 f.; H. GRESSMANN, *Mose und seine Zeit* (Göttingen, 1913), 7 ff.

45) Ex. ii 1-10; see most recently G. FOHRER, *Überlieferung und Geschichte des Exodus* (BZAW 91; Berlin, 1964), 19 f. Certain dislocations in the plot of Ex. i-ii might suggest the prior existence of a slightly different version which has been here modified: e.g. a logical inconsistency in Pharaoh's motive for slaughtering the innocents (cf. S. Sandmel, *The Hebrew Scriptures, an Introduction to their Literature and Religious Ideas* [New York, 1963], 373 f.), the presence of only two midwives, the implication that Moses, who has Miriam as an older sister, is the first-born of his mother. A possible reconstruction of this prior version might be sketched as follows: king is somehow told that woman's male child is to supplant him, two midwives sent to dispose of child, woman already delivered, secretes child in ark, etc. But there is no reason to believe that such a *Vorlage*, if it even existed, was attached to the name of Moses. Such an attachment came about, it seems, primarily through the false etymology of the name "Moses." But it is equally possible that the unevenness is directly due to the lack of skill of the redactor who first attached the name of Moses to this birth motif, and then attempted to insinuate it into the existing tradition. In the latter he was obliged to retain and accommodate two elements of long-standing, viz. the tradition of the bondage (already an integral part of the credos), and the tradition that Miriam was Moses' older sister. To make the birth motif coherent he had to preface it with the slaughter of the innocents, and in the process he introduced the aetiology of the midwives (which may have enjoyed a radically different function and form prior to incorporation): cf. NOTH, *Exodus* (SCM Press; London, 1962), 24.

46) A. ERMAN, *The Literature of the Ancient Egyptians* (London, 1927), 43 f.

the prophet hastens to add that the change of dynasty will come only after three generations have passed, and this is sufficient to allay Khufu's fears.

The birth of Horus appears at first glance to be the best example from Egyptian literature of the motif examined here.<sup>47)</sup> After the death of Osiris his pregnant wife Isis, the kite, flees the wrath of her brother-in-law Seth, the wild pig (?),<sup>48)</sup> who is determined to exterminate Osiris's seed. Isis flees to the impenetrable marshes of the Delta where, among the papyrus clumps of Khemmis, she brings forth her son, Horus, the falcon. Hidden in his "nest" among the papyrus, Horus grows up, and the remoteness of his hiding place frustrates every attempt Seth makes to find him. At last the mature Horus comes forth to champion his dead father, and drives his uncle Seth out of Egypt.

Much as this tale appears to incorporate the motif of the abandoned wonder-child, there are certain basic differences which cast serious doubt on the attractive identification of the two. First, Horus is not cast away and abandoned in a marshy district for his own safety; rather, his mother happens to be in the marshes for her own safety when Horus is born.<sup>49)</sup> Second, the picture the Horus-myth conjures up has a different milieu and different principals from that which is sketched by the myth of the hero abandoned in infancy. We do not see a child in basket or trough abandoned by members of a human community on riverain land. Instead we are in a marsh; a bird perches upon a gently swaying stalk, beneath her a nest with her helpless young inside; other friendly animals, including a cow, linger near protectingly; through the reeds in search of the nest a loathesome, predatory quadruped slips swiftly and noiselessly. This is a nature setting, not one drawn from human society.<sup>50)</sup> The imagery and motivation are adequately accounted for by the natural phenomenon, and are connected only secondarily with considerations of social relationships. Third, the hatred of Seth for Horus, the reason for which is not clear from the

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47) R. T. RUNDLE-CLARK, *Myth and Symbol in Ancient Egypt* (London, 1959), 186 ff.; A. ERMAN, *A Handbook of Egyptian Religion* (London, 1907), 34; S. A. B. MERCER, *Horus, Royal God of Egypt* (Grafton, 1942), 102 ff.

48) P. E. NEWBERRY, *JEA* 14 (1928), 211 ff.

49) Cf. ERMAN, *La Religion des Egyptiens* (Paris, 1952), 100.

50) It may be derived from the myth of the papyrus goddess Uto and her child Nefertum: S. MORENZ, J. SCHUBERT, *Der Gott auf der Blume* (Ascona, 1954), 33.

birth narrative alone, is in reality something retained from two older myths, the myth of the murdered god Osiris, and the myth of the conflict between Horus and Seth. In both these myths the hatred of Seth for Osiris and Horus respectively is basic to the plot, and is readily understandable. The birth of Horus is a later creation, a bridge which served to link these older myths by making Horus the son and heir of Osiris, and thus turning the Horus-Seth conflict into the attack of an avenging son.<sup>51)</sup>

Of late an attempt has been made to combat the prevailing view that the birth narrative of Moses in Exodus owes nothing to Egypt by adducing some mythological episodes in a late, hieroglyphic papyrus.<sup>52)</sup>

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51) On the equivocal role played by Horus in the two myths, see J. G. GRIFITHS, *The Conflict of Horus and Seth* (Liverpool, 1960), 12 ff.

52) W. HELCK, *VT* 15 (1965), 48. Professor Helck's observations on the same topic which interested the present writer in a recent article (*VT* 13 [1963], 401-18) are interesting and well chosen, but I do not think he has weakened the case there presented. I was dealing in that article with Exodus i 11, and conclusions were that of the toponyms פָּהֶם and רֶעֱמִסִּים one is of late origin and the other is applied to a town attested from the sixth century B. C. onwards. These conclusions rested, as did those regarding Čkw, or סֶכֶת on the consistent presence of the town determinative after a certain date, and its consistent absence before it. I do not find סֶכֶת in vs. 11, and I know of no passage in the Bible which preserves a tradition of Israelite building operations there (*pace* HELCK, *op. cit.*, 37 f). Helck's statement (*ibid.*, 38) „Das Nichtbestehen eines Ortes kann also aus dem Fremdlanddeterminativ nicht gefolgert werden" is quite true, and I acknowledged the misleading nature of such determinatives in my article (*op. cit.*, 407). But my argument was not based on the presence or absence of the hill-country determinative in one or two instances, but on its consistent use to the exclusion of the town determinative in the early texts. With regard to the text in the Anastasi Papyrus I have not overlooked the attributive „which are in Čkw," (so HELCK, *op. cit.*, 39). We must examine the wording of Anast. VI, 54-7 closely. The writer says that they have finished checking a beduin tribe through "the fortress of Merneptah Hotephirmaat L. P. H. which is <in> Čkw." This is merely their point of entry, not their destination, which was "the pools of *Pr-Itm* which are <in> Čkw." If they were only getting water at the fortress, the verb *sš* (<*snš* "to pass by") would surely not have been used. This is a clear indication of the physical separation of the fortress from the pools of *Pr-Itm*. Yet both fortress and pools were in Čkw, which plainly implies that at the time when the papyrus was written (late New Kingdom) Čkw was the designation of a region. Regarding the Hebrew רֶעֱמִסִּים I must continue to protest that it could not have been derived from Egyptian *Pr-R<sup>c</sup>-ms-sw*. All the supposed Egyptian examples with elided *pr* are susceptible of other, more plausible, explanations. The example HELCK cites in his article (*op. cit.*, 42), viz. "the sculptor of Ramses Maiamun, Paya," must allude to the deified Ramses, and not to the

The episodes in question are briefly recounted in the Jumilhac Papyrus, a text of Ptolemaic date published by Vandier.<sup>53)</sup> They are not, however, told for their intrinsic interest, nor in fact is there anything to suggest that they had an independent literary transmission. Their sole purpose in the Jumilhac Papyrus is to elucidate the origins of the name of the Jackal god Anubis (Egyptian *Inpw*), and to explain how it came about that this god was identified with Horus. The purpose is aetiological, the device used is the familiar play on words which makes use of homonyms or similar sounding phrases. The pertinent passage reads as follows:<sup>54)</sup> "As for Uto the mistress of *Dwn-cwy*,<sup>55)</sup> that's Isis the mother of Anubis. As for Horus the child who is in this place, that's Anubis the son of Osiris, when he was a precious lad in the arms of his mother Isis. As for (the name) 'Anubis,' it was applied as a name to Horus since he was young.<sup>56)</sup> As to the fact that he was called 'Anubis' by his mother Isis, it was spoken with respect to the wind, the water and the mountain: the *i* is wind (*iwn*), the *n* is water,<sup>57)</sup> and the *p* is mountain.<sup>58)</sup> She called his name after that of his father, the hidden one, in order that he (or it?) might be exalted in him (or it?). Afterwards Re said, 'As for him (*in p<sup>3</sup>y*), that's me,' and so his name Anubis came into being. Another version: Seth was

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toponym *Pr-R<sup>c</sup>-ms-sw*. Paya's title should be compared with "the carver of Amun," "the chief of the sculptors of Amun," "the goldsmith of Amun," "the draftsman of Amun," and others formed on the same pattern (cf. G. LEFÈVRE, *Histoire des grands prêtres d'Amon de Karnak* [Paris, 1929], 47 f). The title indicates that its bearer "belongs to" the god, simply through membership in the god's community, or temple estate, as the variant *pr Imn* "Amun's estate" (not a toponym!) in place of *Imn* clearly shows (*ibid.*). In support of a New Kingdom pronunciation \**Ri<sup>c</sup>amsēšē* for *R<sup>c</sup>-ms-sw* "... fast wie im A. T. ..." (*op. cit.*, 43), HELCK cites the form *Ri-am-še-ši* in KUB III 124, 10. He thus ignores the regular and ubiquitous *Ri-a-ma-še-ša* for a single anomalous example, which is found, moreover, in a passage displaying an unusual and hesitant orthography (e.g. *ma(!)-<sup>2</sup>-ya* [*mry*, "beloved"] instead of the usual *ma-a-i*). The apparent unfamiliarity of the writer of this fragment with the Egyptian language—EDEL (*JNES* 7 [1948], 22) doubts that it came from Egypt—should caution against using it as evidence of the contemporary pronunciation of native Egyptians.

53) J. VANDIER, *Le Papyrus Jumilhac* (Paris, no date).

54) *Ibid.*, VI, 2-16.

55) The Eighteenth Nome of Upper Egypt: VANDIER, *ibid.*, 25 ff.

56) *Inpw*, "royal child," A. ERMAN, H. GRAPOW, *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache* (Leipzig, 1925), I, 96 : 5-6.

57) In Egyptian *n* is denoted by one wavy line, the noun "water" (*mw*) by three.

58) *Ĝw*; the significance of this last equation, as indeed of wind, water and mountain to the essence of Horus, is quite obscure; see VANDIER, *op. cit.*, 155.

ranging about looking for Horus when he was a child in his nest at Khemmis. His mother hid him in a papyrus-(thicket), and Nephthys' mat (?) <sup>59)</sup> was over him. She hid <him> as 'Child-who-is-in-the-papyrus-(thicket)' (*inpw imy w<sup>3</sup>ġ*), and so his name Anubis came into being, and *Mht imy Wt* became his cult image. <sup>60)</sup> Another version: he was sailing about in a boat (*inpw*) of papyrus, and Isis said to Thoth, 'Let me see my son who is hidden in the marshes.' Thoth said, 'See him!' And Isis said, 'Is that him (*in p<sup>3</sup>y pw*)?' And that's how his name Anubis came into being, a name which on that account is given to every royal child."

There is indeed some slight parallelism here between the details of the Horus myth and the birth narrative of Moses. In both we encounter a craft of papyrus, the hiding of the child in a marshy place, <sup>61)</sup> the pursuing villain bent on murdering the child, and the protecting sister (Nephthys). <sup>62)</sup> HELCK states with due caution, "Ob hier tatsächlich ägyptische mythenmotive bei dem Entstehen der Geburtsgeschichte mit wirksam gewesen sind, wage ich nicht zu entscheiden, aber man sollte doch bei der Herleitung nicht von vornherein ägyptische Abkunft ausschliessen und sich nur auf mesopotamische beschränken, besonders da solche ägyptischen Mytheneinflüsse ja auch sonst im hebräischen Raum feststellbar sind." <sup>63)</sup>

The fact is, however, and its importance cannot be minimized, that the parallels cited come from the Greco-Roman period when literary cross-fertilization had been going on for a long time. By the time that the Jumilhac Papyrus was written Egypt had been sufficiently exposed to both Hebrew and Classical literature for influences from those

59) See VANDIER, *ibid.*, 157.

60) *Ibid.*

61) Cf. RUNDLE-CLARK, *op. cit.*, 187 ff. For the opening of the container where the child is secreted by the unwitting offspring of the villain, see the Harris Magical Papyrus IX, 1 ff, 8 ff (E. AKMAR, *Le Papyrus Magique Harris* [Upsala, 1916], 33 ff), in which passage the casket in which Horus is hiding (see H. SCHAEFFER, *ZAS* 41 [1904], 81) is opened by Megy the son of Seth. But I do not think the parallel is especially close.

62) The protection of the child by various deities is very old; cf. already PT 1375.

63) *Op. cit.*, 48.

64) Late versions of the Osiris and Horus myths show this happening: cf. J. G. GRIFFITHS, *op. cit.*, 85 ff; HOLLEY, *op. cit.*, 44. According to a version of Osiris's birth recorded by PLUTARCH (*De Iside et Osiride*, 12), an oracle announced the god's nativity to a man who was drawing water, and charged him with

sources to have crept into the age-old myths.<sup>64</sup>) Nor can one counter that the passage translated reflects independent material of genuine antiquity. The vocabulary used by the writer, even the words on which the puns depend, show clearly that the stories in this part of the papyrus at least came into existence at a late date.<sup>65</sup>) Aetiology is the sole concern of these brief, poorly-written snatches of narrative; it is their *raison d'être*. Remove it, and nothing remains. The stories are the concoction of a theologian whose chief intent was to explain the identification of Anubis with Horus. They do not constitute evidence of a version of the Horus myth cast in the mold of the motif of the exposed child, upon which the Hebrews could have drawn for details for the tale of Moses. The narrative of Exodus 2 still finds its closest parallel in the Sargon legend, and parallels almost as close in Classical literature.

The classification of the examples of the motif already cited may be facilitated by tabulating the criteria as follows: (See page 225.)

It does not seem possible to the present writer to elicit any evidence for the history of the motif on the basis of the criteria of the second and third columns. Grouping of the examples on the basis of motive for abandonment, interesting though it may be in pointing up the sociological milieu of the various stories, fails to show a meaningful bifurcation in the motif. And there is no reason, as we have already said, to enunciate as a generalization that examples in which gods and goddesses figure are necessarily earlier than examples in which the cast is exclusively human. Indeed the nature of the motif makes it inappropriate for mythology. Gods are usually conceived as endowed with great power. How could such beings or their offspring be cast away like unwanted members of the human community? It is far more likely that those examples in which gods and goddesses play a part belong to an advanced stage in the humanization of the pantheon, and are patterned on tales told of human heroes. It will do no good to object that

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the child's upbringing. This is clearly a poor adaptation of the primary motif in which a water-drawer *found* the child, and then made an ad hoc decision to raise him.

65) *Imp*, "boat of papyrus," is found only in Ptolemaic texts: ERMAN-GRAPOW, *Wörterbuch* I, 96 : 4; the cow (Hathor) is an old member of the divine entourage which protects Horus in the marshes, but the interpretation of the hieroglyphic sign for cow as *qn*, "mat" (VANDIER, *op. cit.*, 157) depends upon a Ptolemaic value for the sign.



No.	Principals	Motive	Place of Abandonment	Abandoned in	Abandoned by	Rescued by	Reared by
1	human & divine	shame	wilds	—	father	fisherman	(same)
2	human & divine	shame	river	basket	mother	farmer	(same)
3	divine	shame	hills	—	mother	doves	shepherd
4	divine	shame	river bank	—	mother	animals	goddess
5	human	shame	mountain	—	father	bird	(same)
6	human	?	wilderness	shield	?	eagle	?
7	human & divine	shame	mountain	—	uncle	shepherd	(same)
8	human & divine	shame	wilderness	—	mother	cow	shepherd
9	human & divine	shame	mountain	—	mother	goats	centaur
10	human & divine	shame	wilderness	—	mother	mare	shepherd
11	human & divine	shame	cave	basket	mother	god	priestess
12	human & divine	shame (?)	river	basket	mother	drawer of water	(same)
13	human	fear	river	box	mother	tanner	(same)
14	human	shame	river bank	—	grandfather	wolf, birds	herdsman
15	human	fear	thrown from height	—	soldiers	eagle	gardiner
16	human	fear	forest	—	grandfather	herdsman	(same)
17	human	fear	forest	—	grandfather	bitch	herdsman
18	human	fear	wilderness	—	grandfather	herdsman	(same)
19	human	fear	forest	—	mother	cow	hermit
20	human	fear	wilds	—	mother	goat	shepherd
21	human & divine	fear	sea	chest	king	shepherd	(same)
22 (1)	human & divine	fear	sea	chest	king	king	(same)
22 (2)	human & divine	fear	wilds	—	mother	doe	shepherds
23	human	fear	wilds	—	father	herdsman	queen
24	human	fear	mountain	—	father	bear	shepherds
25	human & divine	fear	fields	—	mother	goddess	mother
26	human & divine	fear	river bank	tub	king	wolf	herdsman
27	human & divine	?	river bank	—	mother (?)	?	?
28	human	fear	river bank	basket	mother	princess	(same)
29	human	fear	—	—	—	—	—
30	human	fear	desert	—	(parents accompany)	—	—
31	human	revolution	river	raft	—	natives	—
32	human	fear	river	basket	mother	princess	(same)

the earliest example listed above (no. 1) employs divinities as *dramatis personae*; for this tale of the sun god and the cow is basically the motif of the lustful god who mates with an animal, to which has been appended the independent motif of the exposed child.

The information provided by the fourth and fifth columns is more helpful. On the examination of these criteria two versions of the basic abandonment motif appear. In the first, the version with which Biblical scholars are most concerned, the child is placed in a light craft (ark, basket, chest, etc.) and cast upon the waters, whence in due time it is rescued by a human being (Nos. 2, 12, 13, 21, 22 [1], 26, 28, 31, 32). This form of the motif, through a coincidental resemblance, was easily confused with the myth of the drowned or submerged god, which was especially popular in Egypt.<sup>66</sup>) In Classical times the contamination of the one motif by the other is quite evident.<sup>67</sup>) In the second version the place of abandonment is either the forest or the hill country, and the water craft is dispensed with. In keeping with the rural setting the role of rescuer and guardian is played by various denizens of the countryside, including animals, birds, shepherds, cowherds and gardeners.

Where did these two versions of the motif originate? Are we to look for a particular geographical area, or must we postulate independent literary creations in many areas, more or less simultaneously? Admittedly, freely-composed tales on the same general subject could arise in the oral tradition of many widely-scattered peoples having no contact with one another. But the motif of the hero put into the water in a basket, or cast forth upon the hill, as far as plot is concerned, seems confined within rather restrictive limits: unlucky birth, danger to baby, abandonment, rescue by animals or rustics. Here surely is a motif which became popular and standardized in one culture, and then because of the widespread influence of that literary tradition, was disseminated among other literatures as well. When one examines the dispersal of the motif in ancient times, from Central Asia and north-west India to southern Europe, one literary tradition alone suggests itself as exerting sufficient influence directly or indirectly in all these areas to account

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66) Cf. Osiris (R. ANTHES, *JNES* 18 [1959], 199), or the Primaeval god submerged in the Nun (RUNDLE-CLARK, *op. cit.*, 46 f).

67) HOLLEY, *op. cit.*, 42 f.

for the presence of the motif, and that is the literary tradition at home in the plain of the Tigris-Euphrates. From here come the two oldest examples of the first version of the motif (Nos. 12 and 32), and here the very concept of consigning a life in a bark to the waters of a great river in order to preserve it, is very much at home.<sup>68)</sup> The second version, which has a comparable dispersal among ancient literatures, must have had its origin in a mountainous region where rivers did not readily suggest themselves as the most efficient means of disposing of infants. May we propose the highlands of Armenia and the northern Zagros, to the north and east of Mesopotamia?

To discern "lines of descent" among the thirty-two examples epitomized is difficult in the extreme. Moreover it may be misleading, since many seem to be *de novo* compositions with but a reminiscence of the framework of the motif, and not adaptations or borrowings of specific stories. Nevertheless some derivations can be pointed out. No. 28, for example, is clearly an embellishment of no. 32, and 30 is probably a re-working of the motif as exemplified in no. 32; but whether the latter is a direct adaptation of the Sargon legend (no. 12), or whether the motif enjoyed independent popularity among the West-semitic peoples, it is virtually impossible to decide. The story of Humai (no. 13), however, is surely a direct descendent of no. 12, and the same may be said of no. 2, though in the latter case a debt is also owed to no. 1 (in both stories the lover is the sun god). Those examples in which birds play the role of rescuer or sustainer (nos. 1, 3, 5, 6, 9,<sup>69)</sup> 14, 15) should probably not be linked together too closely, for in other respects the stories show marked divergence. That form of the second version of the motif in which either the father or mother or both take on animal form, is attested by the historified no. 17<sup>70)</sup> which perhaps provided the inspiration for nos. 18 and 19, and by no. 7 which in turn was the model for nos. 8, 14 and 26. If Astour's derivation of Zethos from זית is correct,<sup>71)</sup> one might postulate for no. 7 a West-semitic Vorlage now lost. Such a Vorlage, if it existed, was probably current in

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68) Cf. the Babylonian Account of the Flood.

69) ASTOUR, *Hellenosemitica*, 308 f.

70) HERODOTUS I, 110, where it is recorded that Cyrus's (human) foster-mother bore the name *Spaco*, or "bitch."

71) *Op. cit.*, 213.

the second millenium, as was no. 1, and also in all probability nos. 3 and 12. These four stories, then, two Mesopotamian and two Levantine, would be the earliest examples we possess of the motif of the exposed child.

# IBN al-'ARABĪ AND SPANISH MYSTICISM OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

BY

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Indianapolis

Sixteenth century Spain is the golden age of mysticism. During this century dozens of Christian authors took pen in hand to express the highest mystical sentiments, the most important, of course, being Saint Teresa of Avila and St. John of the Cross. But this was not the only century of mysticism in Spain, for when that country had first been occupied by the Muslims in the eighth century, a significant number of Islamic mystics, called Sūfīs, appeared. Ibn al-'Arabī represents one of the most important personalities of this earlier development.

Mysticism was a part of Christianity from the very beginning—one has only to think of the book of Revelations and numerous passages from St. Paul. In Islam, the mystic tradition does not appear at once. The God of Muhammad was known more for his transcendent majesty and dominion, but careful readers of the Koran were quick to see that this same God also inspired passages in the Sacred Book which stated that He “was closer to man than the vein of his neck.”<sup>1)</sup> This opened the door to a mystical movement within Islam which flowered into Sūfīsm. (The name came from the word for wool, sūf, the cloth used for the garments of the Muslim mystic.)

There is no general agreement as to the influences which brought about such a strong mystical tendency within Islam. Some authors believe Iranian ideas are dominant, others look to India or to the Gnosticism of the Hellenized East; nearly everyone admits that Neo-Platonic philosophy provided a context and Christian monasticism, especially as found in Syria, furnished a pattern for Sūfī development.<sup>2)</sup> The

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1) Koran, 50 : 15.

2) Louis Massignon, “Tasawwuf”, *Encyclopedia of Islam*, IV, 684; Reynold A. Nicholson, *The Mystics of Islam* (London, 1914), p. 12; A. J. Arberry, *Sūfīsm* (London, 1950), p. 45 ff.

blending of these various doctrines along with speculation and meditation on the Koran and Hadith, and the Muslim oral traditions within the community itself can all be admitted as playing a significant role. In many ways the multiple origins of Islamic mysticism help explain the diversity found within Sūfism.

The Sūfī had as his ideal to follow a path (*tariqat*) which would, through a series of definite stages, bring him to an existential union with God. To learn what he must do required that he place himself in the hands of a master who knew the way himself, a *shaikh*. Usually starting with exercises which developed from severe ascetic practices, the Sūfī was led to a state of recollection where he completely abandoned his will for the sake of God. His life was then to be fused with God's, his consciousness lost in the profundity of Allah. The Sūfī doctors taught that the disciple must first go through the experience of "passing away" (*fana*) before the goal of union with God might be attained. In reaching the state of *fana* "... the soul is stripped of all its desires, affections and interests, so that in ceasing to will for itself it becomes an object of the Divine Will, that is, the beloved of God." <sup>3)</sup>

Once *fana* had been attained, the soul was rapt in the ecstatic vision of God. All consciousness of the individual personality was dissolved into the reality of God's oneness. In such a state, the Persian mystic Jalāl al-Dīn Rumi could say:

I am not of the East, nor of the West, nor of the land, nor of the sea,  
I am not of Nature's mint, nor of the circling heavens.  
I am not of earth, nor of water, nor of air, nor of fire,  
I am not of the empyrean, nor of the dust, nor of existence, nor of entity...  
One I seek, One I know, One I see, One I call  
He is the first, He is the Last, He is the outward, He is the inward. <sup>4)</sup>

The most famous of the sūfīs, Husayn al-Hallāj is well remembered for the statement in which he identified himself with God and was crucified for what his orthodox listeners could only believe to be the height of blasphemy. In his *Ṭawāsīn* he had already expressed his feelings on his unity with God, which was the goal of every Sūfī,

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3) Reynold A. Nicholson, *The Idea of Personality in Sūfism* (Cambridge, 1923), p. 18.

4) From the *Diwān of Shams-i-Tabrīz*, quoted in John A. Williams, ed., *Islam* (New York, 1961), p. 164.

I am He whom I love, and He whom I love is I  
 We are two spirits dwelling in one body.  
 If thou seest me, thou seest Him  
 And if thou seest Him, thou seest us both.<sup>5)</sup>

When Ibn al-ʿArabī appears on the scene, he is the heir of a long Sūfī tradition in the Eastern Islamic world and of over a hundred years of thought in Muslim Spain itself. He belongs, in fact helps to inaugurate, the last period of development in Sūfī doctrine, known as *wahdatīya*, because of its strong insistence on the principle that all created things are simply the essence of the existence of the Creator. In his thought the mystic goal of the Sūfī is premised on a philosophy of existential monism, a basis which made a unique contribution to Sūfism's direction.

The Spanish Muslim community was noted for its conservative outlook in the centuries immediately following the conquest of the peninsula. The orthodox *ʿulema* tolerated some ascetical devotions, but frowned upon innovations introduced by philosophers and mystics elsewhere in the Islamic world. Even the works of al-Ghazālī were suspect, with the result that an organized Sūfī movement was long delayed in putting in an appearance. It was only in the eleventh century that Sūfīs, as such, were recognized within the Spanish community, appearing at Al Meria and later in Seville and Cordova.

It was as a member of the school of Sūfism in Seville that Ibn al-ʿArabī first gained a reputation for his doctrines. He was born in July, 1165 at Murcia, but when he was only seven years of age his family moved to Seville and a year later al-ʿArabī was sent to Lisbon where he studied under a number of well known Sūfīs and teachers of the classic Muslim sciences. For the next thirty years al-ʿArabī studied and taught in Seville. It was also while he was there that he first began to have mystic experiences himself. In 1194 he had moved to Tunis and seven years later set out from Spain on a journey from which he never returned. He stayed for awhile in Mecca, Baghdad, Aleppo and many other cities of the Muslim East. Wherever he visited, except in Egypt, he received a warm welcome and was urged to expound his teaching. Nearly all of his writings were composed at this time, being the fruit of

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5) Quoted in A. E. Affifi, *The Mystical Philosophy of Muhyid Din-Ibnul 'Arabi* (Cambridge, 1939), p. 172.

years of meditation and thought. His final residence was at Damascus where he died in October, 1240. <sup>6)</sup>

As an author, al-ʿArabī proved to be most prolific. Today some two hundred works exist and this, according to some biographers is only half the total. He wrote in both prose and poetry and covered nearly every subject that human thought has ever considered. His two most important works are *al-Futūhāt al Makkīya*, (The Revelations received at Mecca) containing five hundred sixty chapters on mystical knowledge, and the *Fusūs al-Hikam*. (The Gems of the Wisdoms of the Prophets.) None of his works are easy to read. One critic states, "This writer is extremely difficult to understand. His style is enigmatical, and his subject obtruse, and any translation must be largely an interpretation rather than a rendering of what the author wrote". <sup>7)</sup> Some authorities believe that al-ʿArabī wrote in this way to purposely confuse the more orthodox Muslims from recognizing that his doctrine was frequently at odds with the teaching of Muhammad.

Many influences are to be found in his writings, the result of the peculiar historical context that Muslim Spain provided in the twelfth century. In some regards, al-ʿArabī shows that he was very much aware of Alexandrian Neo-Platonism, but he rejects the theory of emanation which was so important to Plotinus. <sup>8)</sup> Jewish mystic writings, such as appear in the *Kaballah* where God is called "the Unlimited", "the Abyss", and "the Unknown of the Unknown" were probably available to him and struck a responsive chord. <sup>9)</sup> Christian ascetic writings were very well known in the Islamic world, and al-ʿArabī himself speaks of a group of Sūfis who sought to lead an ascetical and mystical life inspired by Jesus, and were called by His name. <sup>10)</sup> The writings of pseudo-Dionysius provided Christian mystics with a handbook of religious experience, which came to be well known in the Islamic world as well, and almost surely had a role in the thought of al-ʿArabī.

His thoughts are not easily condensed and can give rise to a great deal of diverse interpretation. On some points, however, there can be no quarrel about his meaning, for al-ʿArabī sought to give Sūfism a

6) T. H. Weir, "Ibn al-'Arabī", *Encyclopedia of Islam*, Vol. II, p. 361.

7) Alfred Guillaume, *Islam* (Hammondsworth, 1956), p. 149.

8) Affifi, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

9) David Baumgardt, *Great Western Mystics* (New York, 1961), p. 46.

10) *al Futūhāt*, I, 289, quoted in Miguel Asin Palacios, *El Islam Cristianizado* (Madrid, 1931), pp. 18, 125.



philosophical foundation based upon his understanding of God and the world about him which was definitely pantheistic. As Affifi says, "The kernel of Ibnul ʿArabī's whole system is that there is One Reality which reveals or manifests itself in an infinity of forms, not one that *produces* or *creates* or one from which anything other than itself emanates".<sup>11)</sup> In this philosophical system the personal God of Muhammad disappears and in his place al-ʿArabī places a deified Reality. This God is truly imminent in so far as the essence and existence of all beings are Him, but they do not define Him in any way. "There is nothing but God, nothing in existence other than He; there is not even a 'There' where the essence of all things is One".<sup>12)</sup> At the same time God is identified with Reality, — al-ʿArabī asserts that He is transcendent — since existence cannot contain Him, if one can really attribute personality to this concept of God.

In some ways he appears to follow the Scholastic treatment of God, for he speaks of Him as the Absolute and the Necessary Being, whose essence and existence are identical, but at the same time he brings in the idea of a necessary creation. He holds that God's prescience contains all being in ideas and that creatures come into reality as these ideas of necessity develop into actual existence in the present and eventually become reabsorbed in the divine essence once they belong to the past. Al-ʿArabī taught that the world, as we know it at the present time as actually existent, is a world of phenomena which allows us to see but one aspect of Reality. It is a real world in one sense, but it is also only a reflection of reality (*Haqq*) as absolute being.

Since in al-ʿArabī's thought creatures and Creator are identified, he must answer what differentiates the phenomenal world of being as it is known. He answers this by asserting that being appears on different levels, such as material being, intellectual being, etc. and further divides it according to the degree of rationality it possesses. Man has the highest rationality of all creatures in the universe, but all being possesses at least some intellectual potential, a statement that is remarkably similar to the modern cosmology of Teilhard de Chardin.

The universe that al-ʿArabī postulates is only one Reality where God is to be found not as a cause, but simply as essence. In answering the

11) Affifi, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

12) *al-Futūḥāt* I, 884 in Affifi, *op. cit.*, p. 54. For a recent exposition on al-ʿArabī's thought, see Rom Landau, *The Philosophy of Ibn 'Arabī* (London, 1959).

problem of how it is that these essences appear multiple, al-ʿArabī comments, “Multiplicity is due to different points of view, not to an actual division in the one Essence”.<sup>13)</sup> Thus the subjective view of man is responsible for the “multiple” in creation, rather than objective Reality itself. He confirms this interpretation in another statement concerning his concept of God, “If you regard Him through Him, then He regards Himself through Himself which is the state of unity; but if you regard Him through yourself, then that unity vanishes”.<sup>14)</sup>

Among the important ideas which Sūfism came to adopt from Neo-Platonism via Christianity was the notion of the Logos, a being that stood intermediately between God and creation. For the Christians, it was easy to place Jesus Christ in this role, as was done in John’s Gospel, and the same proved to be true in Islam where a similar role was attributed to Muhammad. It should not be surprising therefore, to find in al-ʿArabī an extensive treatment of this theme. He sees Muhammad as the Perfect Man, the cause of creation and its ultimate prototype. The whole of the saints and prophets are summed up in the Prophet, “Mohammed is the only unique and unparalleled being in existence, hence his singularity. There is nothing above Him except the Absolute Essence”.<sup>15)</sup>

At the same time al-ʿArabī spoke of the unique role of Muhammad, he was professing — not too consistently — a tolerant attitude towards other religions, “People have formed different beliefs about God, and I behold all they believe”.<sup>16)</sup> In some way he felt that Islam did have certain superior qualities about it, but his pantheistic ideas would not allow him to speak of it as containing the fulness of truth.

The writings of al-ʿArabī for Sūfīs contain a great deal of material to help the beginner arrive at his goal of mystical experience. As customary, al-ʿArabī speaks of the purifications necessary for the candidate; he must submit to a cleansing of his senses, of his heart and finally his spirit. The means are penance, mortification and mental prayer, but the final goal of intuitive knowledge of Reality is always a gift of Reality itself. This infused contemplation is attained once the state of *fana* has purged the person from self. The depersonalized Sūfī

13) *Fusūs al-Hikam*, 417 in Affifi, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

14) *Fusūs al-Hikam*, 147, in Affifi, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

15) *Ibid.*, p. 74.

16) *al Futūhāt*, III, 175 in Affifi, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

then receives the immediate taste of *gnosis*, knowledge of Reality as it really is. The Sūfī does not become one with God, since according to al-ʿArabi's metaphysics he is already that, but what occurs at this highest state of ecstasy is the reception of the mystic knowledge that allows him to *realize* and experience in an intimate way the Oneness of which he is a part.<sup>17)</sup>

The joy of the mystic in attaining this state is expressed in one of his most beautiful poems;

Oh, her beauty — the tender maid! Its brilliance gives light  
like lamps to one travelling in the dark.  
She is a pearl hidden in a shell of hair as black as jet,  
A pearl for which Thought dives and remains unceasingly in the  
deep of that ocean,  
He who looks upon her deems her to be a gazelle of the sand hills,  
because of her shapely neck and the loveliness of her gestures.<sup>18)</sup>

Christianity was under pressure from Islam in Spain for many centuries. For a time it was crowded into the very small area of Asturias in the extreme northwestern part of the peninsula, and from this foothold, the reconquest began which was completed only when Granada fell to Ferdinand and Isabella in the memorable year of 1492.

The results of this preoccupation with a single ideal — the reconquest of Spain for the Cross — produced a very definite type of Catholicism in that country. It gave to Spanish religion a unique fanaticism and martial spirit, a taste for adventure in the missions but a very conservative outlook in the homeland. In such an atmosphere "mysticism breathes its native air".<sup>19)</sup> In the sixteenth century the mystics of Spain were to reach the heights of contemplative experience which have been preserved for us in their writings, but this just did not happen, for as has been seen, the Sūfī movement prepared the way.

Already in the thirteenth century, the mystical movement of Christian Spain begins with Ramond Lull. He was born in Majorca in 1235 (Ibn al-ʿArabi is in Damascus at the time), and from his island birthplace set out on a life which was full of adventure and excitement. He travelled all over the Eastern Islamic world, and even journeyed to Ethiopia. Since he was in such close contact with Arab culture, Lull

17) Affifi, *op. cit.*, p. 105 ff.; Palacios, *op. cit.*, p. 162 ff.

18) Quoted in Nicholson, *Mystics of Islam*, p. 102.

19) E. Allison Peers, *Spanish Mysticism* (New York, 1924), p. 4.

tried to get his fellow Christians to study Arabic and send missionaries to the Muslims. His efforts met with only partial success, but he gave his own life for the cause he espoused, being stoned to death, probably in Tunis, in 1315.

Lull composed two books that may be properly considered mystical, *Libre de contemplacio* and *Libre d'Amic e Amat*. In them he records his recollections and speaks in a literary conversation of the intimacy of his soul with God, "Say, fool, have you money?" "I have a beloved one." "Do you own villages, castles, towns, countries or duchies?" "No, I have love, thought, tears . . . suffering and loneliness which are worth more than empires and kingdoms." And in another passage, he writes, "Love is an ocean moved by wind and waves, and the ocean has no harbor and no coast. The lover was drowned in it and with him his tortures, but his merits emerge to the surface".<sup>20</sup>) The sentiments of Lull, clothed in symbolic language that is the means of expression for the mystic, opened the door to Christian mystical writers of later centuries, but he had no immediate followers.

The great flowering of sixteenth century mysticism appears with a certain suddenness. It is contemporaneous with Spain's great age of genius and conquest, and with the Protestant revolution which shook the countries of northern Europe. The Reformation made little progress against the hard armor of Catholicism in Spain, but the humanism of Erasmus did make a significant impression there, especially in the Universities through the work of Cardinal Francisco Jimenez. A movement with mystic tendencies appeared in the cities with the organization of societies known as *Alumbrados* which show a number of parallels with the Sūfī brotherhoods.<sup>21</sup>)

The *Alumbrados* came under the suspicious eye of the Inquisition so that a natural progression of the movement was retarded and eventually stifled. As a result Spanish mysticism moved its center to the monasteries and convents of the religious orders of Spain. There, sheltered within the walls of orthodoxy, it reached its culmination in the works of St. Teresa and St. John of the Cross.

These two giants of Carmelite mysticism did not lack contemporaries who were masters of the spiritual life in their own right, especially

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20) Ramond Lull, *Obres Essencials*, pp. 177 and 272, quoted in Baumgardt, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

21) Louis Cognet, *Post-Reformation Spirituality* (New York, 1959) p. 27.

among the Franciscans. The spiritual doctrine they gave shows certain characteristics, some of which are analogous to Islamic mysticism while other qualities stand in opposition.

Both traditions emphasized the need of preparation for the mystical life through asceticism and inward recollection. Diego de Estella, Francisco de Osuna and Bernadino de Laredo all write of the stages that the candidate must proceed through to reach the goal of the mystic. For example, "We are pilgrims in this world and so the Holy Scriptures call us, and we journey towards Thee, O Lord, as to our own country and to the true native land of our souls".<sup>22)</sup>

The journey of the Christian mystic also leads to something akin to the *fana* of the Sūfīs. The human will loses consciousness as it approaches God, "If I loved thee in truth, O Lord, the power of love would make me to be as that which I love, for it would transform me into Thyself, that so I should be like unto that which I love".<sup>23)</sup> Eventually union with God is attained, to an extent that is permitted one in mortal flesh, where it is possible "... to behold God in His essence, without the use of senses".<sup>24)</sup>

This union is not the same as al-ʿArabī's insofar as there is no idea in Christian thought of a pantheistic approach to an impersonal God who is identified with Creation. Rather the union is a personal one, between two separate and subsistent personalities. Moreover the Christian mystic does not consider the church as a bystander in his ascent to God, as one must feel al-ʿArabī considered the teachings of the *ʿulema*. In a passage which would surely puzzle al-ʿArabī, Bernadino de Laredo prays, "Who will give me wings like a dove... O that I might be filled with the love and desire of holy Church that I might seek my God in perfect contemplation".<sup>25)</sup>

The union which the mystic finally attains with God has been best described in the works of St. John of the Cross. The terms which he and St. Teresa use to describe this experience are often quite similar to those used by al-ʿArabī and the Sūfīs. It will be recalled that the Muslim author stressed the intimate knowledge gained once the soul had reached its term in God, and St. John states "... when He (God)

22) Diego de Estella, *De La Vanidad del Mundo* quoted in Peers, *op. cit.*, p. 139.

23) *Ibid.*, p. 154.

24) Alonso de Orozco in Peers, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

25) Bernadino de Laredo, *Subiela del Monte Sion*, in Peers, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

is in union with the soul and is pleased to reveal Himself to her in a very secret knowledge, she begins to see in Him this greatness and all these virtues perfectly and profoundly comprehended in His one and single essence, so far as is consistent with faith". 26)

Just as al-ʿArabī stressed the unity which is to be found in Reality, once the soul has attained God, St. John echoes these same sentiments where he speaks of the many lamps of the soul uniting "to form one simple essence". 27) A final identification is attained between God and the soul at a point where John speaks of spiritual marriage. Although some of the language which John uses might lend itself to a pantheistic interpretation, there are too many contrasting passages to give such a meaning to the words of the saint. For John, the spiritual marriage results in "... such a union of the two natures and such communication of the Divine Nature to the human, that, while neither of them changes its being, each of them appears to be God". 28) John is seen to differ then from al-ʿArabī since he recognizes that there are two distinct natures and that the union between them is not an existential one.

To sum up the points of comparison between Muslim and Christian mysticism, one can immediately see that both have drawn on a common font of spiritual imagery which was inherited from the Hellenistic world. Both possess a doctrine of the Logos and both present a program for the person who seeks union with God that allows for a progression from the ascetical to the mystical life culminating in the direct experience of God.

In the many centuries in which Christians and Muslims lived in proximity, there was always mutual interaction between the two, just as the Koran itself bears witness of the influence of Christianity on the Prophet himself.

The most ardent exponent of Christian influence on the Sūfī movement is Miguel Asín Palacios. He sees this resulting from the keen desire of Muslims seeking an ascetical and mystical religion while noting the contradiction between the holiness they aspired to and the life of the Prophet as pictured in the Koran, "Because of this the Sūfīs after-

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26) John of the Cross, *Dark Night of the Soul* in Peers, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

27) *Ibid.*, p. 114.

28) John of the Cross, *Spiritual Canticle* (E. Allison Peers, trans., New York, 1961), p. 175.

wards quickly sought to destroy this antithesis by Christianizing the life of Muhammad. A cycle of legends, or *hadith*, was born in the first century of Islam, which pictured Muhammad possessing all the ascetic virtues and mystic qualities of a Christian monk".<sup>29)</sup>

Palacios sees this Christianized Muslim thought penetrating the Middle Ages and forming the base of Dante's *Divine Comedy* as well as a number of other literary works. In his book on al-ʿArabī, he gives extensive expositions of the parallels that can be cited between the Muslim mystics and the Christian authors of Spain. Al-ʿArabī will caution the aspiring Muslim "Do not seek from God anything else than Himself, do not aspire to attain any other object than him" while John of the Cross in a remarkably similar vein states, "Do not let temporal goods and tastes and corporal delights impede or stand in the way of God".<sup>30)</sup> Palacios also sees al-ʿArabī's doctrine of the stages within the vision of God, his encouragement of liturgical prayer and practicing the presence of God to have exact counterparts in Christian mysticism. How does he account for this? By a twofold process of influences: first, Christian ascetical life was adopted by the Sūfīs, (al-ʿArabī is credited with a "profoundly Christian character")<sup>31)</sup> and then the Muslim mystical movement appeared as the background for the sixteenth century mystical movement in Spain.

There are some profound differences, however, between the two traditions. The Christian mystic was definitely not a pantheist nor did he expect his own personality to be identified with God to the point that it "became God". In the Sūfī writings, one finds the desire to escape from the unreal existence of self in order to reunite with the infinite Reality. "The whole of Sūfism rests on the belief that when the individual self is lost, the Universal Self is found, or in religious language, that ecstasy affords the only means by which the soul can directly communicate and become united with God".<sup>32)</sup> This shows a major contrast between Christian and Muslim mysticism.

Another significant difference is the role which the Church plays in the mystic's life. For the sixteenth century Spanish mystic, the bonds

29) Palacios, *op. cit.*, p. 8. See also the article by Kathleen Pond, "Ibn Abbad of Ronda" *Mount Carmel*, XIV, no. 2 (Autumn, 1966), pp. 47-54, which is dependent on Palacios.

30) *Ibid.*, p. 175.

31) *Ibid.*, p. 175.

32) Nicholson, *Mystics of Islam*, p. 59.

of orthodoxy were very evident, while the Sūfī has often been in conflict or indifferent to the official religious hierarchy of Islam. As a third major difference, the Christian mystic had to constantly remember the demands of charity; he was not allowed to seek mysticism for its own sake, as Luis de Granada says "... the necessities of life, the requirements of justice and even of charity, call us many a time to leave God (if we may speak thus) for God himself".<sup>33)</sup>

The great authority among English writers on Spanish mysticism, E. Allison Peers, does not see the movement as having been influenced by anything other than the Bible, the Fathers, and the mystics' own experience. He believes the Christian mystics to have been practically devoid of philosophical thought or speculation — their mystical experiences were simple, personal and realistic.<sup>34)</sup> This opinion is shared by the Spanish author, Pablo Rousselot, who claims, "The (Spanish) mystics... record for us nothing of contemplative nor of oriental philosophy, nor certainly of Sūfism."<sup>35)</sup> The French author Louis Cognet takes a more moderate approach to the problem, "One is tempted to see in it (Spanish mysticism) a distant survival of Islamic mysticism; the case for this has more than once been put forward but the proofs are insufficient".<sup>36)</sup>

In conclusion, then, it can be seen that there is no agreement as to the degree of influence that the Sūfīs in general, and Ibn al-ʿArabī in particular, exercised on the Christian mystics of Spain. Probably the truth lies somewhere in the middle between those who deny any traces of Sūfism and those who would make it a dominant influence. Mystics are not easy to put into systems whether they be Muslim, Christian or Buddhist. Parallels can nearly always be found, since the language they must use — full of symbols — is remarkably similar in every case and human psychology throughout the world is identical. One can hardly imagine St. Teresa and St. John of the Cross existing anywhere else than in Spain in the sixteenth century. Their thought and lives were molded by Spain's legacy from the past and part of that inheritance was the contribution made by men like Ibn al-ʿArabī and the Sūfīs of Muslim Spain.

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33) Luis de Granada, *On the Unitive Life* in Peers, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

34) Peers, *op. cit.*, pp. 40 ff.

35) Pablo Rousselot, *Los Místicos Espanoles* (Barcelona, 1907), I. 47.

36) Cognet, *op. cit.*, p. 27.